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Soviet Union

Political Affairs

JPRS-UPA-87-040

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Grishkyavichus Speaks At Propaganda Workers' Rally

*18000020a Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
19 Sep 87 pp 1,3*

[ELTA report: "Republic Propaganda Workers' Rally": "To See the Timeliness of Restructuring and Promote Innovations"]

[Excerpts] Today a republic-wide propaganda workers' rally was held at the House of Political Education. Its participants discussed political and economic education tasks for the current academic year and timely issues pertaining to ideological work on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. In this connection there was broad discussion of propaganda workers' role in the mobilization of working people to find innovative solutions to social and economic problems under conditions of restructuring.

Participating in the rally were party gorkom and raykom secretaries for ideological work, heads of political education departments, the administrators of ideological organizations and departments and other members of the party and soviet aktiv.

The rally was opened by an introductory address given by P. Grishkyavichus, first secretary of the LiSSR CP Central Committee.

"We have gathered here today for the third republic-wide propaganda workers' rally," said Comrade P. Grishkyavichus. "Our job is to discuss those tasks which we will have to accomplish in the near future with regard to improvement of political and economic education for working people and improvement of the effectiveness thereof."

"Recently the CPSU Central Committee passed an important resolution on restructuring of the system of workers' political and economic studies. This is a specific program of action in one of the most important areas of ideological work. Implementation of this program is a priority task for our republic party organization as a whole and for each communist individually."

"Propaganda workers should play an especially active role in the implementation of this program. During the current academic year 24,000 propaganda workers will be at work in our republic's system of political and economic studies. Many of them possess a great deal of experience, acquired through leadership in labor collectives and ideological work. It is important that each person to whom party organizations have entrusted this complex job be profoundly aware of his or her responsibility and carry out that responsibility actively, with communist-like zeal."

"We hope that you, the representatives of our republic's large body of propagandists, will always serve as examples, graphically demonstrating the need to work innovatively and effectively."

"We are living in a time of revolutionary changes. The ideas of restructuring laid down by the April (1985) CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the 27th Party Congress have taken hold of our entire society. They have the unanimous support of Soviet Lithuania's workers. Well aware of the need for restructuring, many collectives in our republic are working more intensively and are striving more persistently to achieve qualitatively new results."

"At the 9th Plenum of the LiSSR CP Central Committee, to be held in December of this year, we will sum up and thoroughly evaluate the results of restructuring in our republic. However, even now we can state that positive changes have been seen in all aspects of our lives, particularly in the economy. This represents consistent implementation of the course set by the June CPSU Central Committee Plenum this year: decisive rejection of an excessively administrative approach and active work to master economic methods of management."

"Our republic party organization is working persistently to ensure that restructuring is carried out everywhere and that an uncompromising struggle is unleashed against anyone who hinders that process. The LiSSR CP Central Committee, party gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations are mobilizing communists and all workers to overcome manifestations of bureaucratism, inertia of thought and disorganization. Further expansion of socialist democracy and strengthening of glasnost will contribute to effective performance of these tasks."

"The most important task facing our republic's propaganda workers is that of focusing all their creative energy on ensuring that restructuring proceeds swiftly and irrevocably everywhere. Propagandists must skillfully and purposefully work to ensure that every worker is fully aware of the nature of restructuring and takes an active part in its implementation. This means that propaganda workers themselves must restructure their work and always be sure that their words and deeds coincide. Party gorkoms and raykoms should render them all possible assistance in this respect."

"For the purpose of carrying out the aforementioned CPSU Central Committee resolution on restructuring of the system of political and economic studies for workers in our republic, general economic studies will be expanded. It is particularly important that this work proceed in an organized fashion, providing effective instruction in modern economic thinking and the skills needed to function under new economic conditions."

"Since the economy is the foundation of people's lives, it is understandable that many questions will arise during lessons. Propaganda workers should respond to those questions openly and exhaustively; they should convincingly describe what is being done and will be done to resolve those issues."

"Political and economic education for workers is not an end in itself. It should help party organizations implement restructuring and more successfully perform tasks relating to acceleration of social, economic and cultural development. Therefore, all propagandists are obligated to do everything possible, on the basis of party documents and in-depth analysis of various aspects of social affairs, to encourage their students to be socially and politically active. Only propaganda workers who can inspire people to do new, important jobs are truly worthy of their honorable title."

"Our republic party organization feels that one important component of ideological work is propaganda to promote the historic advantages of socialism and greater friendship among peoples. During the period of preparations for a fitting celebration of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution this work has been stepped up and given a rich new content. However, it is a cause for concern that some propaganda workers are, instead of providing an objective evaluation of the situation, giving a quite nihilistic evaluation of our republic workers' successes as part of the family of Soviet peoples. This is completely impermissible."

"We cannot permit any extreme views in analysis and evaluation of the historical past. Maximum objectivity is the principle by which we should be guided."

"The workers of our republics have indeed met with difficulties on the road to the establishment of socialism. But it was not those difficulties which shaped historical development. Under the leadership of the LiSSR CP aggressive efforts have been made to overcome those difficulties, and it is very important that we reveal all aspects of how that process has unfolded. Only by brilliantly illuminating the potential of socialism and the great creative power of friendship among Soviet peoples can propaganda workers make an effective contribution to the accomplishment of restructuring and renewal of society."

"Fraternal assistance from all Soviet peoples to our republic's workers is one of the most important reasons for the fact that within a relatively short period of time Lithuania has been transformed into a developed industrial/agricultural republic and a land of great cultural achievements. This is an extremely important fact, and the significance of indestructible friendship among Soviet peoples should always be demonstrated with well-reasoned arguments. In addition, it is essential to oppose any and all nationalistic sentiments on the basis of a principle, class-oriented stance, decisively repulsing those who would spread such sentiments."

"The act of anti-Soviet provocation which extremist nationalists inspired by Western centers of subversions attempted to carry out in Vilnius on 23 August of this year is a graphic demonstration of how important it is to increase political vigilance and substantially strengthen counterpropaganda work."

"The workers of our republic harshly condemned this unsuccessful attack by turncoats. Propagandists also had significant comments to make. Unfortunately, during the assembly of anti-Soviet elements they did not demonstrate the necessary activism and did not expose these political adventurers on the spot. This should serve as a serious lesson."

"When doing propaganda work to promote the great values of socialism and evaluate our opponents' falsifications concerning the Soviet way of life a defensive stance is absolutely false. We do not need to defend ourselves, but rather to actively and boldly affirm our communist convictions and decisively debunk views which are alien to our own. And this should always be done swiftly and efficiently, without waiting for anything. Greater glasnost is creating truly favorable opportunities for this."

"Patriotic and internationalist education of workers needs to be tied in as closely as possible with atheist education. These two areas of education should always comprise a unified whole."

"The communist party holds the work of propagandists in high esteem. On the occasion of this rally several of them have been given state awards. Some propagandists have been awarded Leninist Certificates of Merit and medals."

"Allow me on behalf of the LiSSR CP Central Committee, the LiSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and our republic Council of Ministers to extend cordial congratulations to all those who received awards and to wish them the greatest possible success in their labor."

In conclusion Comrade P. Grishkyavichus congratulated all republic propagandists on the occasion of the start of a new academic year in the system of political and economic studies and wished everyone creative energy, good health and happiness in their personal lives.

Comrade P. Grishkyavichus presented state awards to a large group of propaganda workers and wished them new success in their noble and responsible task.

Ukraine's Obkom Plenums Discuss June CC CPSU Plenum

Nikolayev Obkom Party Plenum
18000771 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
29 Jul 87 p 2

[Report by G. Selin, PRAVDA UKRAINY correspondent: "Subordinate Style to the Interests of the Cause"]

[Text] In his report L.G. Sharayev, first secretary of the party obkom, expressed urgent concern that the restructuring in the Nikolayev area is still not yielding noticeable results and is proceeding timidly. Fair criticism aimed at the oblast was expressed at the June plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the July plenum of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee. This fact gave an added impetus to the party obkom plenum in its work of evaluating the situation and forced the participants to determine why the efforts being undertaken are proving, upon inspection, to be ineffective. Moreover, a serious slump in the economy is taking place.

In the first half of the year 17 enterprises failed to provide consumers with 9.2 million rubles worth of output. The oblast's industry did not meet the June plan and increased the amount of commodity output it has owed since the beginning of the year. The maximum capital investment in construction has not been put to use fully. There have been failures to put into operation top-priority social, cultural and other service facilities. A difficult situation has developed in the agro-industrial complex: production plans for livestock output have not been fulfilled; less meat and milk and fewer eggs have been sold than last year.

At the plenum many reasons for the extended slow down were given. Some of them are objective. But the discussion concerned above all their own "intra-oblast" failures and omissions. It was emphasized in particular that the oblast was displaying the disturbing tendency which M.S. Gorbachev talked about at the June plenum of the CPSU Central Committee—the tendency of a number of party organizations to lag behind in the dynamic processes which are unfolding in society. Some party committees of the Nikolayev area have been slow to restructure; they have not backed up good intentions with persistent organizational work.

"We spend a great deal of time at all levels—from the obkom buro to the primary party organization," the speaker noted, "formulating tasks and agitating for restructuring, but we are slow to achieve them in practice."

At the plenum the following people talked about how essential it is to overcome the gap between word and deed as quickly as possible: I.V. Krivokhizha, brigade leader in vegetable growing at the Sovkhoz imeni Karl

Marx in Zhovtnevyi Rayon; K.A. Golovko, leader of a comprehensive brigade of machine operators; and V.G. Doroshenko, first secretary of the Kazankovskiy Party Raykom.

Many instances were cited to show how the flaws in the work style and in personnel policy are having a negative influence on the restructuring of the economy. Success depends in significant measure on the initiative, boldness and seriousness of the rayon party committees and their first secretaries. However, N.D. Moskovchenko, S.G. Fomin and A.A. Golovatyy, the first secretaries of the Vradiyevskiy, Ochakovskiy and Veselinovskiy raykoms, continue to use administration by decree and command as their method of leadership. At the plenum it was noted that the secretaries, including the first secretary and the department chiefs of the party obkom departments, sometimes permit petty-minded interference in soviet and economic organs.

In the opinion of N.P. Kobzar, first secretary of the Novoodesskiy Party Raykom, many oblast meetings take place without a thorough analysis of economic activity and the subsequent influence which decisions of an economic nature have on that activity. Economic work remains mainly in the realm of the economists, and party workers hesitate to undertake it, sometimes because they lack competence in this area. The oblast school for the party and economic aktiv does not provide its students with a very thorough knowledge of economics.

Frequently the requirements of restructuring and the vital interests of those actively involved in its on-site implementation run up against the bureaucratic traditions of higher agencies. This conflict has continued to exist for a long time, and the party organs are not evaluating it as they should.

"One of the reasons for the lag," said V.G. Pogorelov, director of the Sovkhoz imeni 27th CPSU Congress in the Nikolayevskiy Rayon, "is that the party obkom and its buro have reduced the demand for action in agriculture and for assistance to agriculture. Some leaders of the oblast's agroprom, construction organizations and sponsoring enterprises have taken advantage of this. Wherever you make requests or suggestions, you encounter non-comprehension or silent disagreement."

How can the style of work be improved? How can it be made entirely subordinate to the interests of the economy? The Nikolayev Party Gorkom is looking for approaches to organizational work which are in line with the times. V.I. Matveyev, first secretary of the gorkom, reported that here they have thought up new criteria for evaluating the contribution made by the party organizations and labor collectives to strengthening the economy and providing sponsoring assistance to the village, etc. Consideration is given not only to the percentages of plan fulfillment but also to the real place which they occupy in the united front for restructuring. They have put into use an unusual indicator called damage to the

economy inflicted by collectives which are responsible for delays. For example, due to deliveries for contracted goods which city enterprises missed in the first half of the year, the heavy labor of 500 road construction workers in the country was not mechanized, and a daily milk supplement of 200 tons, etc. was lost. Facts and figures of this kind force one to think, to institute more effective procedures and to strengthen substantially the demands made on the guilty.

The plenum of the party obkom considered concrete ways to raise the economic effectiveness of the oblast's economy and to further develop the social sphere in the cities and villages. There are still substantial unused reserves which can be used to supply the population with meat and milk products. First of all, it is essential to raise the yield from kolkhoz and sovkhoz farms; in many cases their poor productivity is caused not so much by objective difficulties as by elementary bad management. The subsidiary private farms, whose potential is underestimated by many rayons of the oblast, must become a significant source of help in supplementing food resources. Nearly half of the rural households do not raise livestock. The rural subsidiary farms of industrial enterprises must also be developed more rapidly.

It is worth noting that a significant percentage of the proposals for improving the economy have come directly out of the discussion of the report. Some of them have been turned into organizational-political measures to fulfill the decisions of the June plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, and they have been approved by the plenum of the party obkom. This action emphasizes the serious and constructive nature of its work. It was decided, in particular, to use existing reserves to create a center for renting construction machinery and equipment for enterprises which are developing the construction of living space in an economic manner.

The plenum expressed sharp criticism of the oblast boards and agencies. The leaders of the oblast agroprom came in for a particularly large number of negative comments. But not one of them asked to speak or took advantage of the opportunity to answer the heated questions or to reveal to those gathered there the tactics behind their actions to improve the economy of this sector. Clearly they thought that enough had been said in the report. This detracted somewhat from the exchange of opinions at the plenum, which was on the whole frank and meaningful.

The plenum set out a realistic program for improving affairs in the oblast economy. At present the agenda calls for energetic, innovative work within the labor collectives, the party committees, the local soviets and at all levels of management.

Donetsk Obkom Party Plenum

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 29 Jul 87 p 2

[Report by N. Ladanovskiy, PRAVDA UKRAINY correspondent: A Demanding Discussion: From the Plenum of the Donetsk Party Obkom"]

[Text] With an attitude of demanding the best the plenum participants considered the most important components in the restructuring of the management of the economy in the light of the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee's June plenum.

On the eve I decided to make a preliminary acquaintance with the report.

"You will have to wait a couple of days," said V.P. Mironov, first secretary of the Donetsk Party Obkom, when we met. "Right now the circulated report is in the hands of the obkom members; it has been proposed that they express their own wishes with regard to the restructuring of the management of the economy."

Undoubtedly, this strengthened the analytical nature of the report which V.P. Mironov made at the plenum, gave it a fresh viewpoint on many problems, and gave rise to a frank conversation. About 20 people spoke at the podium: a miner, a metallurgist, a trade union worker, a scholar and secretaries of party committees. They talked about painful areas and sharply criticized inadequacies, without forgetting even the smallest fragments of the restructuring experience.

The Donetsk communists have more than enough reason for reflection. The economy of the oblast has not yet picked up enough speed and has not acquired stability. Bottlenecks in the operation of many enterprises, stop-start work cycles and the resulting failures to make contracted deliveries in the first six months have led to the nonfulfillment by industry of plan targets for the sale of total production volume, the growth of labor productivity and the reduction of production costs. The state failed to receive nearly 272 million rubles worth of output. More than 150 enterprises did not meet their contract obligations. Of particular concern is the fact that the oblast has a considerable number of enterprises which do not work to protect the prestige of the plant's brand name; they have become used to being behind. And in a number of cases the party organizations have taken a passive position.

In this regard the administration and the party committee of the Gorlovka Machine Building Plant deserve a reproach. For many years it has produced narrow-intake combines and coal-excavating control units which are inferior to foreign models in many ways. The enterprise receives many claims for replacement. But the management of the plant tries in every way to ensure a quiet life for itself; it is in no hurry to change the situation even now, with the restructuring. This is the real intent of the attempts it is making through its ministry and USSR Gosstandart to have some models shifted from the highest quality category to the lowest and in this way to avoid reducing the wholesale price. And this is instead of intensifying the search for ways to improve the quality of the output.

Frequently it still happens that managers direct their efforts to justifying shortfalls instead of improving matters. And economic managers often succeed, as they did at the Gorlovka Machine Building Plant, in enlisting the support of the party workers, who show leniency instead of high standards.

Everyone knows from a school physics course that the greater the mass of a material body the greater its supply of inertia, and the more difficult it is to move in a different direction. For how many years has the system of so-called party headquarters been imposed in capital construction? People who are more or less professionals in this area have even emerged. And for what purposes? For negative ones only. Those directly involved in carrying out the work have stopped making decisions and struggling for their implementation; there has been a lessening of the feeling of responsibility. It would seem to be necessary to put an end to this evil practice once and for all and to give builders an opportunity to operate independently without petty-minded interference. But the obvious, emphasized Ye.I. Koryagin, deputy chairman of the oblsipolkom, from the podium is not always fast. In a majority of the subdivisions of Glavdonetskstroy and Glavdonetskhilstroy initiative and order are breaking through, but the party committees are in no hurry to turn away from their previous habits. And here is the result: in the first six months of the year 18 million rubles worth of civilian construction were not finished, and 63,000 square meters of living space were not made available throughout the oblast.

In the Donetsk area the housing problem is unusually acute. It is essential to build more than 30 million square meters of living space by the year 2000, that is, to increase the amount made available every year by no less than 30 percent. Not so long ago the Buro of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee criticized the oblsipolkom and the Minugleprom UkrSSR [Ukrainian SSR Ministry of the Coal Industry] for having become reconciled to the indifferent attitude of many economic managers to the living conditions of mining families, and especially of those living in mining towns. Attention was also directed to this at the July (1987) plenum of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee. In the oblast some conclusions were drawn from this criticism. A joint decree was adopted by the oblsipolkom and the Minugleprom UkrSSR, which set out a broad program of action. The plenum participants wanted to hear how it is being fulfilled. However, a discussion of this did not take place for some reason.

Fair criticism was directed to the chairman of the oblsipolkom, A.S. Statinov. It is time to change the attitude toward the improvement of commerce, everyday services and the production of consumer goods. On this score the people have been given many promises, but well-intentioned decisions are not always fulfilled. The residents of the cities and rayons can judge this from the condition of the streets and common areas and from the operation of public transport.

"It is essential for the local soviets to change their work style," noted L.F. Bezlepkin, secretary of the party obkom. "It is unacceptable when the appeals and proposals submitted by citizens to certain institutions seem to fall into a bureaucratic machine, pass through the hands of a multitude of "executives" and result in empty promises.

"Eliminate the economic illiteracy of managers at various levels in agriculture." That idea was a recurring theme in the presentations by V.K. Zhabko and V.V. Vostrikov, the first secretaries of the Telmanovskiy and Konstantivskiy party raykoms. The speakers emphasized that the republic's gosagroprom needs to think about developing a program and textbooks for an effective system of economic instruction. It would be a good idea to have documentary films on economic subjects, as well as other technical aids.

Nor is the necessary attention being given to new forms of economic management at many industrial enterprises in the oblast, emphasized the plenum participants. For example, at present more than 90 percent of the industrial enterprises in Donetsk are not prepared for the transition to self-financing and the new system for labor payment. Conversations in labor collectives show that half of the middle-level managers and workers know little about the new system of economic management.

The report provided an uncompromising judgment of those who have not yet given up excessive paperwork or a "pressurized" style of leadership. For example, in the Velikonovoselkovskiy and Telmanovskiy rayons, they prefer to act as they always have, without taking the trouble to analyze why the gap between the best and the worst farms is increasing. The negative tendencies in the development of agricultural production have taken shape here. For each failure the raykom secretaries and the RAPO workers immediately call the farm managers on the carpet. And this is called raising standards! And the agricultural departments of these raykoms require the secretaries of the primary organizations to submit more and more written guarantees that they will stop the decline in milk yields. It is clear that there is still great faith here in the power of a piece of paper.

"Any matter is praised by man," was another theme which ran through all the presentations by the plenum participants. That is why the discussion participants, when criticizing the negative phenomena of personnel policy, noted that it is time to eliminate decisively those situations in which a manager, by preserving his own seat, stubbornly holds up the growth of young employees with initiative.

Recently the departments of the party obkom have been freed from the job of examining the majority of the official papers and letters which fall within the competence of soviet, trade union and economic organs. Staff members of the party apparatus have been given the opportunity to escape from the paper prison, to occupy

themselves with vital, organizational work. However, these "emigrants" to the collective are frequently somewhat overbearing in nature. The employees of the party gorkoms and obkom often arrive on site not as party comrades but as inspectors for whose arrival it is necessary to prepare and to put everything in order. In the departments of the party obkom, gorkoms, and raykoms an "injunction-inspection" style sometimes overshadows modern approaches. The oblast party committee has two departments (agriculture and the food industry; trade and everyday services) which devote insufficient attention to the realization of the measures which have been outlined. In this regard the plenum participants proposed to increase the role of obkom members in monitoring the fulfillment of decisions, including fulfillment by departments of the oblast party committee.

The party workers of the Donetsk area are undergoing a crucial test of political maturity. Restructuring reveals with increasing clarity the distortions in personnel and economic policy and other unresolved questions. But at the same time the best experience is being developed, communists are expecting more and more of each other, and confidence in tomorrow is growing. The obkom plenum confirmed this.

S.V. Kolpakov, USSR minister of ferrous metallurgy, spoke at the plenum. The following people took part in the work of the plenum: V.F. Kashcheyev, instructor in the Department of Organizational-Party Work of the CPSU Central Committee; M.G. Perepadya, chief of the Heavy Industry Department of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; and O.P. Naumenko, inspector of the Ukrainian CP Central Committee.

8543

LaSSR CP CC Secretary Takes Strong Stand Against Demonstrators

18080002 Riga CINA in Latvian 29 Oct 87 p 2

[Article entitled: "A Conference of Workers of Culture and Art; the Great October and the Present Time"]

[Excerpts] At the present time we are expanding and deepening socialist democracy, but do we adequately remember and are we aware of those lessons of democracy which, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, the working people of Latvia mastered already 70 years ago? Great attention to the answer of this question was paid by A. Gorbunov, secretary of the CP of the Latvian Central Committee, in his report at the conference of workers of culture and art which took place on 26 October. [Passage omitted]

The Latvian bourgeoisie hurried to make use of the historical situation which had formed in Latvia in 1918—collapse of the army of occupation, the Latvian riflemen far away from the homeland, at the fronts of the civil war—for its selfish interests. No, it did not call for

a struggle against the occupants; it humbly requested help from the Western imperialist powers in order to grab political and economic power.

To this purpose, a group of political intriguers of Latvian bourgeoisie and Mensheviks, whom nobody had either elected or authorized, formed a so-called people's council, and on the 18th of November proclaimed the founding of an "independent sovereign democratically republican" Latvia, making an announcement about the formation of a provisional government with Karlis Ulmanis, leader of the Union of Peasants, at its head. It had neither its territory (this was still occupied by Germany) nor arms and an army, nor money and food. But most importantly—it did not have the support of the people.

Many of you have heard the hostile radio voices already for a considerable time repeat, day after day, that in Latvia they were getting ready to mark the 18th of November. Indeed, there are still people here who have retained in memory the pompous celebration of this event in the second half of the 1930s, for whom, together with these festivities, power, property, and prestige went into non-existence in 1940. This nostalgia has been inherited to a greater or smaller extent by their children and grandchildren. Yes, we have here a certain number of persons alien to socialism, perhaps even inclined to hostility. Lately, precisely with the help of nationalistic demagoguery, they endeavour to make for themselves political (and not only political) capital. Our task, through mass information media and oral agitation, is to develop public and individual work, and to achieve people's understanding of the truth about the origin of the State system of Latvia, and about the Great October Socialist Revolution bringing the working people of Latvia not only freedom but also national and territorial unity.

If somebody now wants to connect the prime origin of the State system of Latvia with the 18th of November, then he either does not know history or deliberately supports the Ulmanist pseudo-history. May those who have decided deliberately or because of naivety to go on the 18th of November to the Monument of Liberty, in order to honour the bourgeois past and its bloody terror, know that we have a moral duty in the name of hundreds of communists murdered in 1920, in the name of the Komsomol members of Valmiera killed without mercy, in the name of the underground workers mercilessly tortured at the political administration, to repulse such irresponsible elements and to expose them politically. If they, in addition, will also disturb public order, then precisely in the name of democracy they must be turned against, with all the severity of the law. It must not be forgotten for a moment that the centres of ideological subversion in the West, endeavouring to make use of the process of democratization, try to destabilize our socio-political development, to create tension in international relations, and to compromise the process of democratization. We are sufficiently strong to neutralize

any provocation, in order not to allow illegal demagogical actions. We are, of course, orienting ourselves not towards violence but towards the comprehension of men, and towards increasing their patriotic responsibility for their republic.

Experience shows that extremistically-inclined nationalists, not being too intelligent, try to compromise both the Latvian people and also its culture and the process of expansion of democratization and openness, are not being understood even by educated persons in the West, including loyal emigres. Those who in Canada and in the United States of America come to the "Ave Sol" concerts are perplexed: how can one hamper the normal development of one's homeland, of the homeland where great art originates, of the country which goes along the path of restructuring to revolutionary changes in economy, the social sphere and culture. Do the nationalististic and short-sighted extremists mourn for Stalinist distortions to such an extent that they are not able to stand the freedom and order in our society?

It is absolutely clear that for any Latvian who regards himself as a patriot, the real festival should be that of the Great October festival, the liberator of our people and the guarantor of our State system. It must not be forgotten that Latvians were especially active participants of this revolution. It was not without reason that in the 1920s and 1930s, the bourgeois historiographers carefully concealed this fact from the young people. This concealment is also continuing now by the extremely reactionary-inclined emigres in the West. At the same time, the more serious historians of Latvian origin who live in the West strive to be objective, not denying the true role of the Latvian revolutionary red riflemen. Their activity is a step on the road towards the cooperation between Soviet and Western historians. [Passage omitted]

Yes, the reactionaries gained a victory at that time, but history proved that this was a short-term retreat. The restoration of Soviet power in Latvia in 1940 was a natural phenomenon which crowned the almost half-a-century-long struggle of the proletariat of Latvia. The bourgeois state system suffered a fall because the proletariat of Latvia had preserved class-consciousness, a fighting spirit, and revolutionary traditions. The proletariat, together with the poor peasants, fishermen, small traders, craftsmen and employees formed the greater part of the inhabitants. They were the ones who needed the socialist revolution in Latvia. The social basis of the dictatorship of Ulmanis consisted of 10 percent of the inhabitants, so that the majority of the Latvian people sided with the revolution. [Passage omitted]

During the years of the Hitlerite occupation the bourgeois nationalists not only mercilessly settled the scores with Soviet people but also in an intensified manner propagandized fascist, nationalistic ideology. They succeeded in distorting the consciousness of a certain part of the inhabitants. At the end of the war, the nationalists,

with the support of fascist special services began to form their armed underground. From whom was it being formed? From the former Aizsarges [Aizsargs, a member of the Aizsargi home defence organization during independent Latvia], officers and men of the Latvian SS Legion, sons of big farmers who had with bribes bought themselves free from the legion, and from other elements, hostile to Soviet power. Hoping for an impending conflict between the USSR and the Western countries, cherishing illusions about the restoration of the bourgeois system, these bands began a bitter struggle against the Soviet power and their own people. They plundered peasants and establishments, spread rumours, endeavoured to hinder procurement of grain and other economic campaigns, killed communists, workers of Soviet establishments, and not infrequently also ordinary peasants and their family members. In 1945 the bandits committed 471 acts of terror; in the post-war years, they killed more than 1,660 Soviet activists.

The poor and average peasants demanded that the Soviet establishments carry out strict and energetic undertakings against the elements hostile towards Soviet power.

It cannot be forgotten, of course, that the transfer took place under the conditions of Stalin's personality cult which could not but influence the processes of that time. Every transgression against socialist legality was used right away for their ends by the enemies of Soviet power, especially by those who had managed to get into the Soviet organs. In every possible way they endeavoured to achieve that also the families of average and even poor peasants would get on the lists of the kulaks to be deported. Likewise, many families of those kulaks who honestly fulfilled all the tasks of the Soviet power were deported.

It follows from what has been said that the historians of the republic must even more thoroughly and deeply research the questions of the class struggle of that time. Without doubt, in the future, illegalities caused by Stalin's personality cult and their consequences will be researched and illuminated still more deeply. But it is necessary to strictly draw a boundary line between the consequences of the personality cult and the objective circumstances of the class struggle. Of course, we shall not regard as innocent victims the justly punished Hitlerite understrappers, bandits, and former enemies of Soviet power.

/09599

Party Urged To Supervise Industrial Restructuring

18310412[Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 30 August 1987 carries on page 1 a 1,000-word lead editorial headlined "In the Spirit of Restructuring: Accounting and Elections in Primary Party Organizations" on the party's role in the restructuring of industry. "The great majority of party groups, shop, and primary party organizations are active in our republic's industrial

institutions." It adds that "however, as noted at this year's July Plenum of the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee, restructuring is proceeding too slowly and there are still institutions which are not fulfilling contractual commitments and producing low quality and substandard products." Quality control problems have been

found in sectors of the petrochemical and machinebuilding industries and light and local industry. Responsible party organizations are urged to strengthen controls over production.

/06662

Publicistics To Restore People's 'Lost Belief'

18310411[Editorial Report] Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri on 28 August 1987 carries on page 1 a 1,000-word article by Kamal Abdullayev headlined "Publicistics and Life" on the role of publicistics during restructuring. He claims that "I would say that a doubly

heavy burden falls on publicistics today. It must continue to fulfill its function in bringing up actual social-political and cultural-economic problems, and it must fulfill its duty in such a way that it becomes a factor in eliminating the damage done to people's concepts on the lying and passive celebratory feelings of past years and that it plays a role in the return of a kind of lost belief."

/06662

Ukrainian Historian on Soviet Historiography
AU271123 Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAINA in Ukrainian
20 Nov 87 pp 1, 3

[Report on interview with Yu. Yu. Kondufor, member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and director of the History Institute, by V. Desyatnykov "And the Imperceptible Flow of Time"]

[Excerpts] It is known that, at times of crisis or revolutionary change, people show a particular interest in history. They want to confront some of the events, to reevaluate them, and to reconsider how the masses and individual persons acted. What for? The answer is obvious: not for the sake of simple curiosity, but to extract some grains of experience, as if to inhale the air of spiritual quest pursued by the inhabitants of the past, and in this way to enrich and to arm themselves for the present day. This is only natural, because the uninterrupted flow of time marks the course of our existence, and the present day stands on the foundations laid by previous generations.

On the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, we are closely examining the path covered by our country. Which of our past experiences can we reliably use? What should we renounce? What should we turn down with an ache in the heart, and what shall we recall with joy and pride, aware of the greatness and inevitability of what took place?

Thus our conversation with Yu. Yu. Kondufor, member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and director of the History Institute, held in the "Yellow Reception Room," ranged between an ache and a joy; again and again, it touched upon complex and ambiguous processes.

It is not easy to speak about the current situation in Ukrainian Soviet historical science, Yu. Yu. Kondufor said. Frankly speaking, even I myself have not yet been able to clearly make out the processes that are taking place at present, although I have given them much thought. The situation has improved somewhat, since we now have the documents and materials of the solemn session held in the Kremlin Congress Hall on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, we have M. S. Gorbachev's report "The October and Restructuring: the Revolution Is Going On." These documents have formulated new approaches to the interpretation of the historical process, and have put emphasis on many problems of relevance for us.

As noted at the 27th CPSU Congress and as recorded in the Central Committee's documents, on the whole, the situation in our historical science, as well as in our social sciences in general, is very unsatisfactory, Yu. Yu. Kondufor continued. Unfortunately, social—and particularly historical—sciences did not achieve the standard they should have done. I am, of course, sorry about that. We historians did not prove to be the people who were able to warn the party in good time of certain negative

processes taking place in society, of the fact that, speaking figuratively, our locomotive, instead of steaming ahead toward communism, was skidding in earnest.

We will come to the causes of the lag in historical science later. But now let me say a few words about the following interesting phenomenon: in a number of positions, we historians have unexpectedly been overtaken, by men of letters, by writers. And let me add, also by journalists. Indeed, men of letters and mass media workers are now actively reorienting the Soviet people in their views on some processes of our old and recent history, and are amplifying their appraisals of those who took part in these processes and events.

A work of art has the liberty of seeing many things subjectively, of making subjective (direct or indirect) appraisals, of condensing or diluting colors. And we do not expect any other approach from an artist. But a historian, on the other hand, has no right to portray the processes in a way governed by his sentiments, by intuition. The element in which he works is constituted by real and carefully checked facts and documents. As a scientist and as a responsible party member, he must produce an objective picture. Let me repeat once again, he must rely on documents. And what can he do if he is deprived of access to the documents he needs, as was frequently the case until recently? And, although there have been some changes for the better, even now not all obstacles have been removed.

Question: You spoke about the importance of work with documents for historians. How has the problem of admission to archives been settled now?

Answer: In a nutshell, things are as follows. State archives are open for researchers. Permits are required to use a number of departmental archives, and those who need such permits get them. Well, and there are a number of archives which, for a number of reasons, remain closed.

The responsibility of a historian before the people consists precisely in reproducing a picture of the remote or recent past in a thorough way, without omitting its positive and negative sides, but in analyzing their complex interaction and entanglement. And in dealing, for example, with the deformations of the period of the personality cult, the main thing is to evaluate them, to show why things happened as they did. There are no literary works that offer such an appraisal, such explanations, a deep examination of the relationship between cause and effect.

Indeed, what caused the deformations? What was their impact on the development of our society? To what an extent did they hinder our progress? What role did the people play in that period? After all, while overcoming great difficulties, our people tirelessly built a new society, built socialism, and then defended it in battle.

Despite everything that happened, they did not lose their faith in our lofty ideals. This was brilliantly stated at the solemn session on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October.

One of the important tasks of historians is to show all that. It would have been good if we had done so before. Unfortunately, we were unable to. And we bear the responsibility for having, for a long time, carelessly overlooked negative things. I have given much thought to the question of why we did that. Most of us were and are honest people. We did not act against our conscience. But was it not a rather easy way to convince ourselves that our role was to be educators and that, for the interests of educating the masses, it was not advisable to focus on negative things, and that our posture was in the interests of society, in the interests of our great cause?

In closely examining at the recent past of historical science, one must, of course, take into account the conditions under which we worked. I have already noted the difficulties we had with documents. But is it possible to disregard the social and political atmosphere in which we all acted? Let me say: everything we wrote and investigated was done in a wholehearted and sincere way. We sincerely believed that we had to write this way, and not the other. Everything we did was dictated by the way we thought at the time.

Question: Could you please tell us what mark will be left in history by Chernobyl? Will it not be necessary later on, as has already happened repeatedly, to run after the facts?

Answer: Our information about Chernobyl is complete enough. You know that quite a few representatives of official international organizations, highly competent people, visited the affected area and that it was impossible to conceal anything from them, even if anyone wanted to. We remember numerous press conferences at which all questions were answered. The public was informed about the findings of the commission that investigated the causes of the accident. And the trial of the culprits was also open. A number of literary works about Chernobyl have already been published. So I do not think there will be any essential amplification with regard to what happened, save perhaps as regards responsibility for what happened.

Or take the issue of nationality relations. Its importance for our country can hardly be overestimated, particularly in light of the events in Alma-Ata and Riga. Unfortunately, we Soviet historians still have done too little to highlight the dialectics of what is national and what is international. One can say, we have not gone any farther than the theses put forward in the period from the 1930's to the 1950's, and if we have, it was only very little. In some respects, however, we have even lost the achievements scored in that period. A number of important problems require a new evaluation and reinterpretation. In how many of our books and monographs has the reader found convincing arguments that the unification

of a number of nations and nationalities with Russia was historically progressive and voluntary. Indeed, it was a historically progressive process. However, it would be wrong to simplify it, and to overlook all its complexities and contradictions. We remember V. I. Lenin's well known dictum concerning Tsarist Russia as a prison for peoples. Therefore, in highlighting the process of unification, it would probably be wrong to idealize Tsarist Russia unintentionally, as is, unfortunately, sometimes done. In this respect, we should work hard to show the dialectics of what is national and what is international in historical reality, and then, the processes currently taking place in the national republics will in fact be clearer and more understandable for us. In this way, we will be better prepared for certain decisions, for settling complex problems, and this will contribute to the final solution of the nationality problem within a formation as unique as our Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The treatment given by historians to the post-October period is rather good. There are many profound and serious works about the October Revolution, particularly in the Ukraine. But even in this field there are, of course, some things that require reinterpretation. In describing the events that took place in those years, we frequently applied only two colors: black and white (or red and black). We ignored half-tints and nuances. This applies to the description of many events and persons, specific people who acted during the revolution. Have you noticed the reappearance in historical publications of the names of well known party figures and people who played a significant role in the events of 1917, but who later found themselves in opposition to the party leadership headed by Stalin? This does not mean that their political errors have been forgotten. The point is to renew historical truth with regard to them to a wider extent, and last but not least, to portray all the nuances concerning the ideological struggle raging at that time.

Question: There are rumors about the restoration of the Tithe Church and St. Michael's Monastery [Desyatynna tserkva, Mykhaylivskyy monastyr] in Kiev. What can you say about that?

Answer: These were unique monuments of Kievan Rus, and I myself, like every conscious citizen, am sorry that they do not exist any more. Well, but as far as their restoration is concerned, likewise the restoration of the Cathedral of the Assumption [Uspenskyy sobor] in the Abbey, which was destroyed during World War II, I can say the following: I am deeply convinced that there is no reason to rebuild—that is to recreate—historical monuments of this kind. This is not the right solution. Let the experts make a good model, put the model in a museum—this will be understandable. Tell me, do you like the "rebuilt" Golden Gate [historical monument in Kiev]? This is a structure that conforms to the "antique" style, but it does not even remotely have any genuine connection with history.

At the end of our conversation let me tell you that each generation interprets the past and is interested in it in its own way. As frequently happens, certain events that we seemed to know perfectly well suddenly reveal new aspects to us. The 70th anniversary of the Great October and the present restructuring give us a chance to see this truth with particular clarity. And the interest manifested at present by the Soviet people in history and in historians gives us inspiration, a new strength, and binds us in many respects. We shall try to work in such a way as to justify the confidence of the party and the people.

History of Georgian Districts in Azerbaijan Examined

18130401a [Editorial Report] Tbilisi MNATOBI in Georgian No 7, July 1987 carries on pages 149-154 Asrat Omarashvili's 3,000-word article, titled "Toponyms of the Ingilo Country in Vakhushiti's 'Survey of the Kingdom of Georgia,'" examining the history of formerly Georgian lands in present-day western Azerbaijan in light of the detailed maps, atlases, and surveys compiled by the 18th-century geographer Vakhushiti Bagrationi. The current name of these lands, Saingilo (the country of the Ingilos, as ethnic Georgians there are called), is relatively recent; historically the territory was known as Hereti. Once a populous and flourishing Christian land, Hereti suffered the brunt of Tatar, Persian, and Dagestani (Lezgian) invasions from the 17th century onward. The Georgian population declined drastically, and Vakhushiti's atlases of 1735 and 1745 already indicate which communities were populated by Georgians, Tatarized Georgians, Tatars, or Lezgians.

A major focus of the article is on the historical fate of original Georgian place names large and small. A final tabulation comparing 31 original toponyms with their current designations indicates that quite a few have survived or been slightly modified under the influence of "other languages," a number have been "calqued" (translated into Turkic), still others replaced by something else, and several have disappeared completely from the map.

In his conclusion, the author emphasizes the scientific value of Vakhushiti's great works as a reliable source and a means of "restoring and reviving" these names, "which have been forgotten for various reasons."

6854/12232

Stalin Museum's Preparations for GOSR-70 Described

18130401b [Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 5 July 1987 carries on page 3 as part of a feature on the town of Gori, Guram Vashakidze's 600-word article, titled "They Study the Past and See the Future," describing work being done in the Stalin

Museum to prepare for observances of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution (GOSR-70). The piece opens with a quote from the Visitors Register, in which Zoya Mishchenko from Moscow expresses thanks for what the exhibits have taught her. Zoya had the honor of being the museum's 300,000th visitor so far this year, a statistic that reflects the Stalin Museum's wide popularity.

Director Nunu Amiredzhibi explains the deep significance of the museum in the scheme of GOSR-70 and mentions some of the work being done. A mobile exhibit titled "Grand October" is to tour the republic, and the permanent exhibit is being expanded, partly through documents, photographs and the like (or copies thereof) coming from elsewhere in the USSR. A special collection of Stalin's personal effects has been put together, including the telephone he used to confer with Moscow from Yalta, the fountain pen he used to sign the Yalta agreement, a Russian translation of the Georgian national epic "Man in the Panther's Skin" with Stalin's own inserted corrections, his personal library, and so on. And there is the humble log home, in which Stalin's water pitcher and books of Lenin are ever on display.

The museum is the frequent venue of meetings with war and labor veterans, Pioneer and Komsomol ceremonies, and send-off assemblies for young men entering the armed forces.

6854/12232

Replacing Turkic Place Names with Original Georgian Urged

18130401c [Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 16 July 1987 carries on page 4 under the title "Do Promptly What Must Be Done" Candidate of History Dzh. Kopalani's 1,000-word article urging prompt restoration of historical Georgian place names to villages, architectural monuments, mountains, and rivers all over Georgian which have for too long been known, both informally rivers all over Georgia which have for too long been known, both informally and officially, by non-Georgian names. For as [19th-century historian] Aleksandre Kipshidze noted lyrically, "historical names are sweet and pleasing, remind people of their forefathers' triumphs and sorrows, and reflect the nation's story... Forgetting one's history is tantamount to moral and physical death." It is, accordingly, distressing to see Georgia's places still carrying the names "applied to them by Oriental invaders."

The author's focus here is on all the Turic names one encounters when traveling from Tbilisi to Armenia through Marneuli and Bolnisi, a once-flourishing district with a dense Georgian population which was routed and scattered as a result of unequal warfare with invaders in the late 18th century. True, many Georgians returned there in the 19th century and revived a few

Georgian villages. But the Tsarist government also settled large numbers of non-Georgians in the district, and this circumstance is still reflected in the numerous place names—about a dozen are listed—that represent substitutes for or corruptions of the original Georgian. A related aspect of the problem is that the Turkic settlers in the districts erroneously took Georgian church inscriptions to be Armenian and thought that the Armenians had inhabited the area. Restoring the old Georgian toponyms will help dispel that notion.

Several paragraphs are devoted to the ideas of Hakop Mikaelyan, an Armenian teacher in Georgia's Tsalka Rayon, who wrote an article in 1971 (LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO) urging that Georgians get rid of local Turkic place name seven as the Armenians had done in their own republic. Although there were several favorable follow-up articles to his proposal, nothing ever came of it. "Who is to blame?" the author of the present article asks rhetorically: "We ourselves."

In a postscript, KOMUNISTI's editors state that the above article had been ready for some time, but other essential matters delayed its publication until now. Meanwhile, historian Levan Sanikidze published his own urgent plea to restore Georgian toponyms in LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO [26 June 1987]. The editors state that it is clearly time to correct old errors.

6854/12232

Modern Relevance of Iranian Azeri Poet Stressed

18310410a[Editorial Report] Baku AZARBAYJAN in Azeri No 8, 1987 carries on pages 175-180 a 3,400-word article by Teymur Ahmadov on the contemporary importance of the poetry of the Iranian Azeri poet Mirza Ali Mo'juz Shabustari (1873-1934); the article is headlined "A Poet Who Believed in the Future." "The poetry of Mirza Ali Mo'juz encompasses a complex and contentious period, filled with Iran's social and political events. In his works, the poet approached the historical events and social problems from the position and interests of the people. The poet deeply approved of the awakening, the renaissance created among the people by the 1906-1911 liberation movement." The author notes that the poet also "praised Shaykh Mahammad Khiyabani's movement." He adds that "at a time when the people are exposed to heartrending difficulties by the reactionary

clergy in Iran, the inspired satirical poems of Mirza Ali Mo'juz call the people to vigilance, solidarity, and to the struggle against apathy, tyranny, and injustice."

/06662

Birth of Iranian Azeri National Hero Marked

18310410b[Editorial Report] Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri on 21 August 1987 carries on page 7 an 1,800-word article by M. Afiyat headlined "Sattarkhan—120: The People's Commander" reviewing the life and achievements of Sattarkhan, who led the Tabriz uprising during the Constitutional revolution in Iran (1906-1911). The author claims that "many peoples' heroes, champions of social thought, and prominent servants of the revolution emerged through the periods of the liberation movement of the Azeri people and during life's most tumultuous times. Sattarkhan was one of these honored servants of the revolution." Reviewing the events of Sattarkhan's life on the occasion of the 120th anniversary of his birth, the author notes that his life has often been depicted in modern Azeri literature and that "ever newer examples of poetry and prose [about Sattarkhan] will be created in the future."

/06662

Iranian Azeri Playwright of 1940's Examined

18310410c[Editorial Report] Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri on 14 August 1987 carries on page 5 a 1,000-word article by Sabir Amirov on the career of the Iranian Azeri playwright Gulamrza Jamshidi; the article is headlined "A Road Beginning on the Other Side..." He notes that "the years during which G. Jamshidi devoted himself to dramaturgy were a period when the national liberation movement in Azerbaijan took on a new scope. After the fall of the dictatorship of Reza Shah (1941) a number of theatrical troupes in Southern Azerbaijan came into existence. Although these troupes had severe difficulties from the point of view of stages, costumes, and economics, these did not stop their activities. One of the major problems was the lack of playwrights." After the collapse of the liberation movement, the Tabriz theater was destroyed. "In later years Gulamrza Jamshidi was the only playwright who continued writing works for the stage."

/06662

Moscow TV: 'Risk' Documentary on Arms Race
*LD091810 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1630
GMT 26 Oct 87*

[Documentary "Risk" produced by A. Kulidzhanov and directed by Dmitriy Barshchevskiy; with text by N. Violina, read by I. Kostolevskiy; passages in quotation marks recorded]

[Text] [Screen caption: "Premier of artistic documentary film. M. Gorkiy Central Cinema Studio of Children's and Young People's Films. Second Creative Association"] [Video shows photos of the earth taken from space, cutting to bank of television monitors showing Gorbachev's press conference following the Reykjavik summit.]

[Gorbachev] "Good evening. I welcome all those taking part in the press conference. We proposed giving instructions that an agreement on medium-range missiles be prepared. I proposed to the President to renounce all the options discussed hitherto, interim, temporary, etc., and return to the U.S. proposal to eliminate completely U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe and Soviet missiles in Europe. We reached agreement on signing an agreement on this too. But we have to start moving. I have spoken about this more than once: What is needed are bold, original decisions if we take the advice of past experience all the time, experience which belongs to a completely different time, and without taking into account where we are today and where we will be tomorrow and the possibility that tomorrow we will be completely unable, maybe, to start a dialogue, and moreover a dialogue on these burning issues which worry the whole world, then we just have to start somewhere." "I told the President we were missing an historic opportunity. Never before had our positions been so close." [Video: screen caption saying "Pages of History," with credits: "Artistic leader of the film epic—L. Kulidzhanov".]

[Kostolevskiy] Potsdam, July '45. Here at the first post-war peace conference the first step was made toward dissension in relations between the former allies, the successful testing of the atomic bomb. The president informs Stalin of this, outwardly undisturbed. Stalin listens benevolently, with a smile. Meanwhile, Truman is thinking: Now I have a stick with which to beat these Russians. Stalin decides immediately to ask Kurchatov about the progress of work on the bomb. [Video shows Stalin, Truman, and Churchill posing for cameras and chatting amiably in the open air.]

This is how the first attempt was made to strike us with a superior force. That was how we accepted the challenge and entered the deadly race. [Video shows Stalin, Truman, Churchill standing in pose; scene freezes and is lit up by glaring light to background of dramatic music by Prokofyev.]

[Video shows screen caption: "Risk" with credits: "Director-producer—dm.Barshchevskiy; camera group—A. Kulidzhanov, V. Berger, N. Zhutnik; text—N. Violina; text reader—I. Kostolevskiy; sound—V. Nabatnikov; directors—O. Vaynshtok, N. Rauzhin; assembly—A. Antipenko; editors—V. Biryukova, Ye. Kotov; directorial group—N. Poznanskaya, A. Savranskaya, Ye. Semochkina; musical arrangement—A. Vanshteyn; music editor—N. Stroyeva; administration group—B. Krupnik, M. Semina, T. Smirnova; director of filmshot group—R. Kronbrandt"]

What an atomic bomb is we were soon to see with our own eyes. [Video shows scenes of destruction with wind heard whistling in background.] Hiroshima. Our military experts were there a few days after the explosion. As you see, a Japanese cameraman took these shots. [Video shows Soviet military men and a Japanese man with a parasol against background of devastation.] The film was found by the Americans, confiscated and taken off to the States, and it is only now that it has come into our hands. [Video shows scenes of devastation with wind whistling.]

A month after the end of World War II a conference of the council of ministers of foreign affairs opens in London. The Soviet side is represented by Vyacheslav Molotov. [Video shows Molotov emerging from (?Soviet Embassy in London) and getting into motor-car.] Between Potsdam and London there were Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Molotov understands that the U.S. atomic superiority will be used as a political argument. [Video shows convoy of cars leaving (?Soviet Embassy) with chimes of Big Ben heard in background] Molotov understands that the U.S. atomic supremacy will be used as a political argument. He is no less aware that precisely this must not be permitted. Molotov has his own clearly defined part in this game. The U.S. side is represented by James Burns, the Secretary of State. He also has his own game to play, all the moves in which are based exclusively upon the fear that the explosion in Hiroshima should instill in the Russians. True, other voices are to be heard: a threat against the Soviets could bring irreparable harm instead of gain, the Russia experts, who have first-hand knowledge of it, insist. [Video shows Burns getting into a car, which moves off, the camera dwelling on the British policeman on duty at the roadside.]

The conference starts work. [Video pans around the participants, stopping on Burns, a group shot is followed by scenes showing Molotov shaking hands with other participants.] It is to resolve disputed issues between East and West. However, every issue runs into deadlock. The parties seem not to be listening to each other: The Americans talk from a position of strength; the Russians do not wish to acknowledge that strength. A confused picture. James Burns did not expect this of Molotov. After the demonstration of the new weapon he had imagined the meeting with the Russians to be different. Even if they had still not understood at Potsdam, the Kremlin should by now know who is who in this world.

[Kostolevskiy—continuing] The tension does not abate at the reception in the evening, either. The conversations apparently take a light-hearted tone, but the point of them is unchanged. You haven't got the atom bombs in your back pocket, have you? Molotov asks Burns between cocktails. Burns, a Southerner, not understanding the humor, replied with the threat: You don't know us Southerners, we are always armed. Molotov and his interpreter laugh, and several minutes later Molotov seeks out Burns again among the guests, and whispers right into his ear: You know, we have the atom bomb too, and laughs once more. The American is vexed. Either they're joking, or they've blabbed about something that should be kept quiet. No, the bomb is still a long way off. But the Soviets are not to be intimidated. Behind us is victory in the most brutal war in history. The victorious Russian lads are adored all over the world. It's not that simple. Public consciousness has to be turned around, hatred and fear to be kindled. [Video shows men mingling at reception.]

Fulton. Here it all started, or, rather, all ended, the brotherhood-in-arms, the common victory over the enemy. [Video shows official car passing crowds along the street, Churchill addressing conference, Churchill and Roosevelt on the balcony outside, waving to the crowd, then riding in an open car along the street.] Now, as Churchill says, enemy number one is us, yesterday's allies. Britain has no permanent friends, no permanent enemies, Britain has permanent interests. It was not Churchill who revealed this, but it was his pet idea. It is now in the interests of Britain and the United States to consider us the enemy.

It is 1949. The Soviet atom bomb. [Video shows mushroom cloud explosion, then a man dressing a child in a protective suit and gas mask, a person modelling one of these suits, a woman going shopping in a gas mask, driving a car. People in the street are seen running along to an underground shelter during an alert.] You think this is an exercise in ways of protecting against an atomic attack. No, it is an exercise in hatred. This is the first fruit of the campaign in the struggle for people's souls. But this is only the start. Premise one: The Russians have the bomb in their hands. Premise two: They could not have made it by themselves—someone has given them the secret. The next step is looking for this someone. [Video shows children going into various kinds of underground shelters, one with a periscope on the surface, and details of shelter interiors.] The period known to history as the witchhunt. [Video shows Richard Nixon—identified on caption in English—holding up a piece of film. He says in English, with Russian translation overlaid.] "I am holding in my hand a microfilm of secret information from the State Department. These documents were stolen from the Department by communists. They wanted to hand them over to the Soviet Union."

[Video clip next shows J. Edgar Hoover—identified on caption in English—speaking in Congress hearings, saying in English with Russian translation overlaid.] "There

is no doubt that communism is spreading throughout the world. The leader is Russia and not the United States."

[Video proceeds to show John Howard Lawson—identified on caption in English—testifying to the hearings.]

[Unidentified questioner] "Are you in the Communist Party or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?"

[Lawson] "To my profound regret, I need to teach the commission the fundamental principle of U.S. democracy."

[Questioner] "You're not answering the question!"

[Video shows testimony being given by Dalton Thumbo, identified on caption in English.]

[Questioner] "Are you in the Communist Party and have you ever been a member?"

[Thumbo] I hope that I have the right to see the evidence that permits you to ask that question of me. I would very much like to see what you have."

[Questioner] "Are you sure?"

[Thumbo] "Yes. I think that you do not have the right to put that question to anyone."

[Video shows testimony by Herbert J. Biberman, identified on caption in English]

[Questioner] "Are you a member of the Communist Party?"

[Biberman] "It is perfectly clear, gentlemen, that if you are going to continue this interrogation..."

[Questioner—interrupting] "You're not giving a direct answer. You're excused."

[Video shows Carl Mundt, identified on caption in English, addressing the hearings.]

[Mundt] "Our bill will publicly identify the Communists in our country as foreign intelligence agents, just as they really are, and you need to beware of them in personal and public life."

[Video shows Tom Clark, identified on caption in English, addressing the hearings.]

[Clark] "The court has pursued and will continued to pursue them mercilessly. A strong America, Mr. Chairman, need have no fear of communism or any other hostile ideologies."

[Video cuts to show street parade of people carrying the Stars and Stripes and a banner that reads: Clean up America of Red Rats, followed by another reading: Every Communist is Moscow's Spy]

[Kostolevskiy] Yet another tried and tested way of rousing national spirit, with more banners and patriotic music. And slogans, the more crude the more comprehensible: Clean up America of Red Rats, and: Every Communist is Moscow's Spy.

[Video returns to the hearings, showing Joseph McCarthy, identified on caption in English, speaking.]

[Kostolevskiy—continues] Every movement has to have its leader. Joseph McCarthy. His name is to be linked with the most shameful period of U.S. history. [Video shows Dorothy Kenyon, identified on caption in English, addressing the hearings.]

[Kenyon] "I have never been a communist, I have never sympathized with the communists."

[Video shows Owen Lattimore, identified on caption in English, testifying.]

[Lattimore] "I have never been a member of the Communist Party and have never been affiliated with it."

[Video shows Philip Jessup, identified on caption in English, testifying.]

[Jessup] "I am not a communist and have never sympathized with the communists. I have never knowingly supported them."

[Video shows a man being taken out to a car, held between two guards, then another also being taken out to a car. A third man is shown in handcuffs being put into a car.]

[Kostolevskiy] Harry Gold, a chemist with a degree from Philadelphia, is arrested. Gold asserts that he is the man through whom information was passed to the Russians.

David Greenglass, a former U.S. Army sergeant, who served at Los Alamos when the bomb was being made, is arrested. He is accused of passing secret information to the Russians through Harry Gold.

Morton Sobell, a communist, is arrested, captured on the Mexican border. He is accused of being an accessory to the passing of secret information to the Russians. Sobell says that he was simply kidnapped by the Mexican police. [Video shows a fourth man being brought out to photographers in the night, freezing the picture to a still, then showing film of a woman, followed by a still picture of her.]

Julius Rosenberg, the wife of David Greenglass' sister, is arrested, a schoolmate of Sobell. Ethel Greenglass Rosenberg is arrested. She, her husband Julius, and her brother David are held, as particularly dangerous criminals, in handcuffs costing \$100,000 each (?). The biggest state treason trial in history is starting. [Video shows an annotated drawing of what looks like four petals viewed from above, enclosed in a square, then another depicting a cross-section through two of these petals round their central stem from the side, closing in to show a stamp that reads: Exhibit U.S. Dist. Court, P.D. of N.Y. Mar 12, 1951, then pulling back to show a drawing of concentric circles divided into sections]

The material evidence. Drawings of the atom bomb done by David Greenglass were the core of the indictment.

[Video shows a registration card from the Hilton Hotel in the name of Harry Gold, with a close-up of the date, 6-3-45, then a "Jello" box in two halves that are matched up.]

A registration card from an hotel in Albuquerque, where according to Harry Gold he stayed on the day when he got the secret information from Greenglass. An old jam packet was the means of communication. [Video shows exterior of court building.]

The court building where the trial which the whole world will follow, trembling, is starting. [To a soundtrack of police sirens, video shows a group shot of the jurors, closing in on each face in turn.]

The jury. Life or death depends upon their verdict. One curious detail: In a town where one third of the inhabitants are Jews, there was not a single Jew among the 11 on the jury; in a town known for its liberal views, there was not a single one on the jury who read a liberal newspaper.

David Greenglass. At the trial nobody will remember that he had already been convicted for theft. Nobody will subject the truth of his evidence to doubt. [Video: still photo of man]

Harry Gold. At the trial nobody will remember that this person is mentally ill, unable to distinguish reality from fantasy. [video shows still of man]

A hotel registration card: At the trial nobody will notice that the date on the card of 3 June 1945, which corresponds with the evidence of Greenglass and Gold, is a fake. On the reverse side there is another date, the real one, 4 June. This discovery does fit in with the orderly system of the charge, and for that reason is forgotten. [Video shows both sides of the hotel card with both dates]

This packet was allegedly torn by the hand of Julius Rosenberg, who handed one half to Gold and the other to Greenglass. [Video shows the "Jello" packet torn in two.]

Finally, the drawing of the atom bomb. According to what authoritative scientists say, this clumsy childish sketch is not capable of saying anything. [video shows sketch]

The charge is cracking up. However, the millstones of the trial machinery are turning inexorably. [Video: building seen through wire fence, faces of the Rosenbergs]

[Kostolevskiy—continued] And yet something is spoiling the smooth progress of the trial toward its predetermined finale. This something is people in front of the White House windows. They do not want to sort out the niceties of evidence and arguments. They are asking their government for human mercy. These people have no dealings with high policy. [Video shows people demonstrating outside the White House with placards calling for clemency for the Rosenbergs] It is not possible to explain to them why it is that at the time when the trial of the Rosenbergs is being organized, in the White House, together with honored guests from the FRG, the Nazi criminal Werner von Braun, the creator of the famous rockets, is being cordially received. [Video shows Eisenhower with Von Braun and other men and women in formal attire.]

It seemed that in the war years the world got used to death, counting it in millions of former lives. But in war, death is without face and fate, whereas here he and she are real. [Video shows demonstration outside White House, cutting to photo of the Rosenbergs.]

And two little children call them mom and dad. [Video: stills of two little children]

All the dependent and independent papers cover the trial, without influencing its course in any way. Nobody is allowed in to see the Rosenbergs, even Julius' brother is refused a visit. [Video shows pressmen and photographers; man covering face with newspaper being escorted by police.]

The mournful crowd outside the courthouse gets on the nerves. The Rosenbergs are stubbornly refusing to admit their guilt, although much has been promised for a confession. [video shows crowd]

A telephone is installed in their cells. At any minute they can lift the receiver for a candid repentance. The telephone is silent. [Video shows stills of Rosenbergs in prison; people outside (?courthouse).]

Their sons are 4 and 7 years old at the time. Now they are being taken to their parents for the last time. The boys will change their surnames and grow up in another family. But even this will not save them. They will be conscious that they are the children of enemies of the nation. [Video shows two boys walking with an adult, reading a newspaper with the headline "Spies get 1 more day".]

The appeal for a postponement is turned down. The execution will take place today. Now. [Video shows watch tower by side of a stretch of water; man in uniform standing by wire mesh fence; men running out of building.]

They knew each other since they were children, and were in love from their early youth. Today they are together for the last time on this earth. [Video shows Rosenbergs arm in arm emerging from doorway; stills of them together posing happily for snap-shot and of them kissing against background of wire mesh; formal portrait of Ethel; weeping crowds, funeral scenes, including distraught elderly woman being supported by men; headstones bearing inscriptions in English and Hebrew. Throughout the trial and execution sequence mournful violin music is played.]

Exactly 2 months after the execution of the Rosenbergs, sensational news: the Russians have exploded a hydrogen bomb. This news was given by Lyndon Johnson while he was a still a senator. They were no longer looking for the guilty parties. The witch-hunt era was coming to a close in the United States. [Video shows Lyndon B. Johnson speaking to camera in English about the hydrogen bomb]

Moscow, July. [Video shows planes in formation reading "Glory to Stalin".] At Tushino Airport a parade in honor of Air Force Day. Everything is ready. They are just waiting for the arrival of Generalissimo Stalin. [Video shows Tushino and Stalin's arrival.] Stalin always comes to this parade. He likes the little airport on the outskirts of Moscow. He likes the July heat. He likes the rejoicing of the crowd at the foot of the modest rostrum. [Video shows Stalin being greeted enthusiastically by the crowd.] He sees a sea of heads. He likes it when there are a lot of people; a lot means the masses. Doubts start when it is divided into individuals. That is why Stalin always visits festivities where there are throngs of people. [Video shows air parade including plane carrying portrait of Stalin on a banner.]

It was always like that. But today, even here, there is something hindering the former untroubled feeling. Something is spoiling the joy, something is smarting. On this day he is especially gloomy. Perhaps he has a premonition that this summer is his last? No, hardly. He cannot stand mysticism and any sort of premonitions or predictions. No, no. It is something else. [Video shows top brass saluting, while Stalin shuffles from foot to foot.]

The aircraft, his pride and joy, the embodiment of strength and power. It is these that are deceiving his hopes. There are aircraft, and there are even the bombs, but where can the aircraft deliver them? He is worried by the United States. It has surrounded the USSR with a ring of military bases. How could he have been mistaken

then? He had brushed it aside with irritation, had not seen the prospects, had not looked ahead. [Video shows more scenes of Stalin at the parade.]

[Kostolevskiy—continuing] Stalin recognizes that it is his mistake. But he cannot bear a feeling of guilt and in order to rid himself of it, other guilty parties must be found. There they are, the guilty parties, Klimov, Migulin, and Yakovlev. [Video shows the three men.] They all say different things; all of them say their own thing. Stalin feels easier: The reasons for the mistake have been found. However, time has been lost irreversibly. [Video shows Stalin on the rostrum at the Tushino parade.]

Yes, indeed, time was lost. And how long ago it started! At the beginning of the century, and where? Strangely enough, in Kaluga Guberniya [district in Tsarist times—FBIS], in the old Russia, where it was difficult to travel in spring even on a cart. [Video shows emblem of a crown, scenes of old Russia]

But sudden inspiration does not choose time nor place. If it is to be Kaluga, then so be it. Konstantin Eduardovich Tsiolkovskiy, a modest teacher of physics at a girls' high school run by the church. The choice of fate fell upon him. It is now that he is called the first ideologist and theoretician of the conquest of space, the founder of contemporary cosmonautics. But at the time, at the end of the last century, he was simply considered a crank, a Russian dreamer. And our land is richly endowed with such dreamers. [Video shows Tsiolkovskiy riding a bicycle, still of him holding a mirror to the side of his face, so that both profile and full face are shown on one shot; Tsiolkovskiy working on primitive-looking rockets, rolling metal for them by hand] How much was thought up but not understood in Russia came back to us some time later under alien, far-off names! How many times we lost our priorities because of fear of taking a risk! But every movement is always a risk. Even a movement of thought. [Video shows Tsiolkovskiy and some of his designs.]

There is nothing stronger than an idea whose time is ripe. After Tsiolkovskiy, there appear in the United States their own stubborn equivalent, Robert Goddard. He is promising a flight to the moon in 1924. He was out by over half a century. But is it that important? And how many discoveries were preceded by predictions? All these dreamers made mankind move forward, even if it had to be dragged forcibly. They did not tire and did not despair, and yet fate so rarely smiled on them with success. [Video shows views of New York, Goddard and a failed launch of a rocket.]

The idea of the jet plane is already gripping the world. Even heavyweight Germany is trying to lift off from the ground. Automobile firms are striving to overcome earth gravity. So far there is lot of cracking, noise, and smoke. [Video shows Open aircraft, Volkart car.]

But there are some successes, nonetheless. Something is appearing. As always it is in Germany, it is weapons. [Video shows rocket being launched but soon falling back to earth, two men carrying rockets on their shoulders.] Something is appearing, and someone is appearing—Werner von Braun. So far he is only entrusted with shouldering a rocket.

In this country, over the years, people have been very keen on gliders. The national tradition of the barge haulers proved useful here as well. Everyone jumped into an aeroplane, from adults to the very smallest infants. [Video shows people hauling cable attached to nose of glider, which takes off. Schoolboys wheel small airplanes across a field.]

Among them was Sergey Korolev. [Video zooms in our figure helping to push an aircraft.]

These are rare frames. Soon Korolev will start working on rockets and will be placed on the secret list. Universal fame will come to him when he dies. His life will begin when life ends. [Video shows crowds at Red Square funeral.]

Until that day his name will be an extremely strictly guarded military secret. He is just simply deprived of a name. He will be called the chief designer. But that will still be in years to come. But before that he will be head of GIRD [Jet Propulsion Study Group—FBIS], he will be wrongly sentenced as a German spy who has sold military secrets to Messerschmitt. He will spend a year in solitary confinement, a year in Kolyma, 6 years as a prisoner in a closed design bureau. In 1945 he will become colonel, in 1953 he will be taken into the ranks of the party, with a majority of one vote. One of those voting against him will say: 'Don't forget where he came from.' In 1956 he will launch ballistic missiles, in 1957 the first satellite.

[Kostolevskiy—continuing] In that same year he will be rehabilitated. In 1961 he will select Gagarin and send him into space. He will overtake and leave behind for ever his invisible rival in missile defense, Werner von Braun. In 1966 he will pass away. On the next day the whole world will learn about him.

[Video shows Brezhnev among leaders on Lenin's mausoleum, as Gagarin reads speech.]

[Gagarin] "We could not tell him words of good wishes and love during his lifetime. We came all together, the whole country, to attend his funeral."

[Kostolevskiy] And it started here, in the center of Moscow, on Sadovaya-Spasskaya Street in a semibasement at No. 19. Now there is a memorial plaque there bearing the famous names: Tihonravov, Pobedonostsev, Tsander, Korolev. [Video shows basement windows of a building, then workshops inside.] At that time it had a modest name, the jet propulsion study group—GIRD.

They took their first rocket for tests by tram. The conductor demanded that they should pay for a separate ticket for that pipe. [Video shows woman adjusting points on tram line.] The pipe did, however, fly. It could not fail to fly for so great were the faith, enthusiasm, sleepless nights, and their own slender means that had been put into it. [Video shows small rocket being launched in a wood by a man pulling a string from behind a bunker.]

But all the same, rockets appeared to be a bagatelle, a plaything of the scientist's brain. Few people saw a future for them. Among those few was Marshal Tukhachevskiy. In essence he was the first state figure to believe in rockets. It was he who was the organizer of the Rocketry Research Institute in which the unforgettable Katyusha was dreamed up. [Video Shows Tukhachevskiy giving lecture to army audience.]

[Tukhachevskiy] "We should take into account that firstly, in percentage terms, our military expenditure with regard to the budget as a whole is considerably less than is the case in the majority of states. I am not even talking about those states which are particularly zealously preparing for offensive (?action). Secondly, comrades, we must take into account the circumstance that this figure, from the point of view of practical organization of our defense, is really a modest and minimal sum." [Video shows Tukhachevskiy addressing a meeting. Audience applauds. Leaders, including Stalin, present]

[Kostolevskiy] [Screen goes blank at this point] We have no clips about the subsequent stage in Soviet missile construction—all the heads of the rocketry research institute were arrested, charged with betrayal of their motherland. The older generation—KLEYMENOV and (?Ilin) were shot, the younger generation, including Korolev, were imprisoned. But even in those years there were people who spoke out in support of Korolev, among them the airmen Valentina Grizodubova and Mikhail Gromov. At that time their fame had spread throughout the nation. Risking their own lives, they managed to get the matter reexamined.

Tupolev, who was also under arrest, was working in a special design bureau for prisoners in those years. He was permitted to select from among those like him a staff of assistants. He saw on the list the surname of Sergey Korolev, his former student whose diploma he had supervised. [Picture returns to screen showing still shot of Korolev.]

This is how Korolev came to leave the camp in Kolyma and find himself in Tupolev's design bureau. This is how Korolev looked when he returned from imprisonment and set about his business again.

The first Soviet jet aircraft. The test pilot, (Bakchivandzhi), said after making a test flight: It's a good aircraft. It will fly but I shall perish in it. That premonition did not cause him to change his plans. He was the first pilot to test a Soviet jet aircraft. He did not return from a flight. [Video shows pilot climbing into single-jet aircraft and taking off on icy runway.] [Kostolevskiy—continuing] At the same time as the first jet aircraft are being tested in our country, in Peenemuende, the missile center of fascist Germany, they are already making missiles, not trial models, but serially-produced models. These are already striking at London. [Video shows design office and workshops at missile installation.]

But ideas for designs are racing ahead. New plans are coming to fruition. Instead of winged missiles, ballistic ones. At the center of the projects is Werner von Braun, who not so long ago had propped up the bodies of missiles with his shoulder. Now he is playing other parts—he is in charge here and top ranking military officers deferentially pick up his instructions. [Video shows Von Braun in the company of trench-coated officers, close-ups of rockets.]

Naturally not everything is going smoothly yet, not everything succeeds. Millions of reichsmarks are squandered, burn in the furious flame, but he receives more millions. No one begrudges them. No one bergudges them for that purpose. The fuehrer believes in Von Braun. [Video shows rockets being launched, some of them failing to blast off and burning up on their launchpads.]

This is what the rocket center of Peenumuende looked like from the cockpit of British and U.S. aircraft. But the pilots themselves were not properly aware of why, after their daily bombings of Berlin, it was their mission to be sure to fly over Peemumuende, but not bomb it. This is how it had been day after day for 4 weeks now. [Video shows pilots' view of installations, shot of aerial photographer taking pictures. Next shot shows door marked in English: "Photographic Section. Bomber Command. Secret." And a print in a developing dish.]

They got used to these harmless fly-pasts at the missile centers. The aircraft flying overhead did not alarm anyone. This was guranteed by the strict secrecy and all the camouflauge. At last the order came to explain to all crews and the paramount importance of the target on which a raid would be made today. The target must be destroyed. If the raid should fail it would be repeated on the following night but in that case, however, there would be heavy losses. [Video shows bombers taking off. A building bears a sign in English saying: "Headquarters European Command". Shots of bomber command operations room. Bombing raid is shown, with buildings on the ground in flames.]

This is what was left of the missile center for developing top secret weapons. All that the Hitlerites managed to save was dispatched from Peenumuende to the little

town of Nordhausen in the Harz mountains. [Video shows shots of gutted buildings, followed by train on the move.]

The mountains themselves formed splendid protection from bombardments. Under their cover the missile factory Dora operated deep underground. Prisoners from concentration camps dug several tunnels manually. Every day hundreds of people died. All those who entered that tunnel never saw the light of day gain. [Video shows tunnel entrance in mountains.]

In April 1945 units of the U.S. army entered Nordhausen. In the tunnels they found hundreds of V-2 missiles left behind. Together with the missiles, corpses had been left. They had not had time to cremate them. All that, however, belonged to the past, just like the Nazis who had been taken prisoner, the former guards of what had formerly been a camp. They, too, were a trining of the past. [Video shows corpses strewn on the ground, a column of German prisoners walking with their hands up, German officers being searched by Americans.]

Any day now there would be victory. One must look ahead. Scientists—that is where the future lies. The U.S. technical intelligence is only interested in them. Germany was many years ahead of us and can share its achievements with us, they beleve in the United States, and they are not mistaken. The German V-2 rockers save U.S. military technology 5 years which would have gone into the research work. That is just a modest assessment. [Video shows U.S. troops poring over a map, talking to civilians.]

[Kostolevskiy—continues] You see, it was not only missiles that were exported, but brains as well. In what kind of currency can you define their value? [Video shows several men with suitcases under armed guard, traffic on a road.]

This is why on the ground and from the air every kilometer is tirelessly checked, every person. Those they were looking for, however, were not here. They are patiently waiting to be arrested in Bavaria, the last stronghold of Hitler's Germany. They were convinced that their secrets were bound to be needed by someone. They waited. [Video shows U.S. paratroopers baling out of an aircraft, a U.S. infantry patrol on a hillside.]

For the moment, on the path of the search there was one camp after another. There were not always only the dead in them. Some people remained alive, those who were not dangerous and did not know technical secrets. [Video shows tunnel opening, entrance to prison camp with German inscription.]

The father of this boy was killed. He was a missile specialist. The same thing happened to many thousands of others who were involved with top secret weapons. But the scientists and designers, the inventors of top secret weapons, were they aware of the fate that befell

those who had realized their ideas? Of course, they knew. They could not help knowing. People perished right before their very eyes in the workshops and laboratories. They were replaceable. Others were put in their place. It was only the brains that could not be replaced. Everyone's hands were similar. [Video shows shots of little boy smiling at camera, intercut with piles of corpses.]

And this man is unique, needed under any regime. His life was spared as the vanquished. THE victors stretched out their arms to him from another shore. On the orders of the president, the United States did not allow Nazi criminals to immigrate. In this case, however, vetting of the past was of no consequence. [Video shows Von Braun, with his arm in plaster, chatting good-humoredly with a group of civilians.]

In the past there were these people whom he tried to forget. Annoyingly surviving, continuing in some way to breathe, they could bear witness, if, of course, they had not gone out of their minds like this former soldier. [Video shows emaciated camp inmates on crutches. Demented man wails in posture of prayer.]

And once again, just as at one time, there was the polite attention of high-ranking officers, again there were millions being burned up in the furnaces of jet propulsion. This time it was not reichsmarks, but dollars. Yes, these innumerable tests shaking the earth, are vividly remembered by (Mikhail Petrovich Devyatayev), former airman, then prisoner, then an inmate in the camp at Peenemuende, then years later Hero of the Soviet Union. [Video shows footage of Nazi officers with Von Braun, followed by shot of failed rocket launch. Camera tracks to reveal elderly man and woman watching above footage on television screen.]

He performed one of the most daring deeds in a war that had seen quite a lot of heroism. Uniting 10 people around him, he took in a Heinkel-111 aircraft. His flight path lay right across the very heart of Peenemuende. The aircraft took off right before the very eyes of the guard and the escorts. He was first fired upon by the Hitlerites and then, beyond the front, by our anti-aircraft guns. But all the same he managed to land, the aircraft on its undercarriage in a ploughed field. Then he could not prove to his own people that he was one of them. [Video shows further shots of bemedalled man watching footage of German rocket launches.]

He found himself in a camp again. Would a check really be made by the state now? After the victory, he is brought to Peenemuende again and acquainted with Colonel Sergeyev. Sergeyev is interested in missiles and Werner von Braun. Sergeyev had a jolly good understanding of all that. Many years later Devyatayev learned his real name. It was Sergey Korolev. It was after this that he was made Hero of the Soviet Union, on the representation of Korolev as well. [Video shows train guarded by troops.]

Yes, this is what Peenemuende looked like when they were there. All that was left for us was ruins. And others inherited the missiles, those very same missiles that saved 5 years of hard work. [Video shows ruined buildings, followed by civilian delegation viewing rocket marked in English, "German V-2 Rocket Ordnance Department (?white) Sands Proving Grounds, New Mexico." Von Braun shown standing next to the rocket.]

Naturally, they rewrote the biography of their inventor in his new homeland. The page had been omitted from it showing Werner Von Braun in the uniform of an SS Sturmbannfuhrer. [Kostolevskiy—continuing] Things went well with the missiles in the United States. [Video gives further shots of Von Braun chatting with Americans, successful launch of rocket shown.]

But on the other shore of the ocean everything was more complicated. Not far from Stalingrad, in a settlement with the rural-sounding name of Kasputin Yar, they were also building missiles. Former Colonel Sergeyev is not closing his eyes again, he is calculating the figures for his creation. Everything is still very difficult. The equipment was primitive, put together from home-made parts. But all the same they already have the first radar and the first trial launching give grounds for hope. [Video shows rocket being wheeled out and installed on pad. Radar antenna shown mounted on truck, next to men in dug-out with telephone.]

And even on a platform knocked together in a hurry the first state commission receives the first results. [Video shows officials on viewing platform, as rocket blasts off.]

7 November 1952. This parade, the next one after the one at Tushino, was also the last one in Stalin's life. All happy events were always rushed in time for holidays. And it was today that Stalin was told of the successes with rockets. Stalin does not react in any way. He always needs time to think. He knows that he will return to it himself. He listens. The Red Square crowd is rejoicing in just the same way, the bands are playing in just the same way. He has always loved this; but with the passing years even more strongly. He is coping worse and worse with solitude, and for this reason the parades are being more and more grandiose. [Video shows Stalin at the November parade, cheering crowds, panning shot of leadership along mausoleum, showing Stalin, Budenny, Beria, Khrushchev, Mikoyan, Molotov and other unidentified leaders.]

Today, 7 November, is a sacred day. He recalls the holiday in previous years; 1941 is specially clear, when the Germans were at the gates of Moscow. He alone knows what that parade cost him. And he alone knows what the outcome was. He went out on to the rostrum and raised his hand. The country saw him at his habitual place, and the echo of belief swept along all fronts. The soldiers of 1941 paid him with their lives for that day. Unthinking, they threw themselves under the tracks of the tanks, on the apertures, into the fire, into hell,

shouting "for Stalin", and they acted quite unsparingly. The soldiers of 1941—they shielded Moscow, the world, and our lives. May their names remain sacred. They died without knowing why it was that there was a lack of officers at the front. Where were our tanks and aircraft? Why the long-ago invented Katyushas started to be made only in Moscow in the very gravest days. They did not find out the truth. But the truth was that Tukhachevskiy had believed in the Katyusha rockets. Tukhachevskiy had been declared by Stalin to be an enemy of the people. After him Korolev was also drawn into that funnel. Stalin remembered the morning's report: Rockets, Korolev. Stalin had spoken to him at one time, but he remembered him well and did not like him. He had a strong and powerful personality. Stalin did not love people like that. He thought that only one person should be strong. He knows that these people link all their achievements with his name. It was they who built the magnitka and the metro, but they said, not us, but Stalin. They got to Berlin for Stalin. And now today, they are creating rockets, but they are saying Stalin. They are dreaming of happiness for their children, and they say Stalin. Always and everywhere. [Video shows military parade archive footage, including large portrait of Stalin, slogan saying Glory to Stalin, crowds cheering and waving, faces in ecstasy.]

Everything was shattered in one instant on 5 March 1953. Time was split into two, with him and without him. And in this new time we still had to learn to live. The air of those days was steeped in grief, despair, and confusion. All are gripped by an unspoken question: What lies ahead, what will happen? On that day it seemed that never again would it be possible to smile and look at the world with a clear gaze. Clarity of vision was yet to come. Universal sorrow. Everyone is in its grip, even the strongest, the ones who have suffered most. Even Korolev. He is not here. On that day he was in Kapustin Yar. On the pages of his diary there is confusion and alarm. Time has stopped. It was a shock, but none of these people knows the truth. The 20th Party congress is still to come. Only then will they find out the truth about him. It will be like a bolt of ball lightning. But afterwards it will become easier to breathe. It will be a desperately bold step. It will be a risk. But every step toward the truth is always a risk, always brave. [Video shows people filing in to pay their last respects to Stalin, scenes show men and women weeping, filing past the catafalque on which Stalin's body is lying. His face is not visible. These scenes are the only archive shots in color. All other archive films of this period and of the Khrushchev era following are in monochrome in this film.]

[Kostolevskiy—continues] In the summer of that same year, 1953, Korolev was accepted into the party. In the fall of the same year he was elected a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences. Soon afterward he submitted his program for assimilating space to the government. This program was accepted in full. Baykonur began. [Video shows group of men seated at table talking, then still photographs of a group of men standing in a field and studying a piece of paper.]

Two superpowers engaged on one super problem. New rockets were also being tested on U.S. testing grounds. However something was slowing things down. True they were now trying to manage without Werner von Braun. Certain pedantic journalists had dug something up in forgotten Nazi archives. A photograph came to light of him in a uniform with SS shoulderstraps. A scandal broke out. [Video shows taxiing aircraft marked Far Eastern Air Lines, men alighting from bus marked U.S. Air Force, rocket on ground, group of men, some with headphones, people watching something from open cars, rocket on launch pad rocket begin to lift off, then explode and burn up.]

However a scandal is just a scandal but rockets were a burning issue. Von Braun's burned up less often and flew better. There was no need for the reporters' publicity sensation, all that was needed was to get down to it in a business-like way, to invite him and attract him to the work. No sooner said than done. Werner von Braun was back in a place of honor again, inventing things, proving them, convincing people, explaining things. He was being listened to again and not in vain. The United States needed success. Here and now. He knew the secret of success. Intelligence sources were reporting that the Russians were building something grandiose in Kazakhstan, something that looked like a cosmodrome. [Video shows building marked in English Headquarters Army Ballistic Missile Agency; men, some in military uniform around table in room with the U.S. flag, men peering at model of rocket.]

Things weren't all running smoothly at Baykonur. It had its failures too. There were ups and downs as always in science. But no, all the same it was up. The resultant was upward, as scientists say. Soon came 4 October 1957. The first artificial sputnik of the earth. The word entered all languages in the original Russian, the word sputnik, as had happened before with the Bolshoy Ballet and as happened later with the word glasnost'. [Video shows several rockets exploding at or soon after take-off, man in white coat working with round object which looks like a satellite, satellite taking off and not exploding.]

And a month after the sputnik there was a parade on Red square in honor of the 40th anniversary of the October revolution. And there were the first intercontinental ballistic missiles. Eight years had gone by since our atom bomb and 4 since the hydrogen bomb. Now we had not only bombs but also the means to deliver them. In the years after the war we had neither enough food nor enough sleep. Soldiers' greatcoats had been altered to make ladies' coats. But thousands of millions were invested in rockets. Foreign correspondents were interested. Why all this mighty technology in your most peaceful state? We answered: We are not just the most peaceful one but now we are also the strongest. From our position of strength we propose peace. We do not ask for mercy. We are holding out a hand of friendship. [Video shows film of old military parade on Red square, showing missiles, reporters.]

New York, 1959. The 14th Assembly. Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers had come on a great and unexpected mission: disarmament. This was the first time the word had been heard in our century. Disarmament, and at a time when we were confidently maintaining parity, when we had invested the lives and talents of our best scientists in defense as well as the strength of the whole country. Disarmament. It is always a risk. He who is stronger is in the right. No. We are ready to take the risk. Disarmament. Perhaps at that time the word sounded premature. Perhaps now it is just right. [Video shows UN general Assembly session. Khrushchev and others shown entering to standing ovation. Then Khrushchev is seen addressing the assembly]

[Khrushchev] "The essence of our proposals is that over a 4-year period all states should implement full disarmament and have no more systems for waging war. That means that land armies, navies, and airforces will cease to exist. General staffs will be abolished as will ministries for war. Military training establishments will be closed. Tens of millions of people will return to peaceful, creative labor. Let us have full disarmament. Let us have better competition for who builds more housing, schools, clinics for their people, who produces more bread, milk, meat, clothing, and other consumer goods and of for who has more hydrogen bombs and missiles. All peoples on earth will welcome that." [Video shows the assembly applauding.]

[Kostolevskiy] We set an example. Unilaterally we became the first in the world to cut our army by one third. Tens of thousands of lads returned home from barracks and took off their military uniforms. No. The point is not extra hands for peaceful labor. The point is hope. We dare to hope that our sons will never be killed in war. [Video shows children run across square toward soldiers standing in line, civilians embracing flower bedecked soldiers, soldiers waving from trains.]

[Kostolevskiy—continues] It is 1960, 1 May. Dawn. Red Square was still sleeping. Moscow too was sleeping. There was still several hours to go before the May Day Demonstration. There is a 2-hour difference between Moscow and Sverdlovsk. The sun rises earlier there. The festival there was already in full swing. A tight thread of anxiety stretched between Sverdlovsk and Moscow today. The telephone and telegraph lines were in a frenzy of activity. But there is still time before that. It was May Day. Spring was in blossom and our hopes were in blossom. It seemed that a dream as old as life itself was becoming a reality—beating swords into ploughshares. The heads of the most important powers were preparing for a summit meeting. Our common fate depended on the accords they would reach. On that day there was a belief that everything was possible. [Video shows dawn over Moscow then happy crowds at parade, Khrushchev waves his hat from Lenin's mausoleum, banners calling for peace and disarmament are seen as is brief glimpse of front entrance to mausoleum.]

That moment takes us a long way back. Bad news at the height of the festival, when hopes were at their height. A U.S. spy plane had just been shot down over Sverdlovsk. The pilot had been captured. What a bitter blow. They still did not know anything about it. [Video again shows festive May Day crowd.] There was no need to spoil their holiday. The U.S. plane had been shot down by the first missile. Everyone was celebrating that day except those who were on duty. The pilot bailed out and was detained by local people. None of them understood as yet what had actually happened that May morning. The trial of Francis Powers, the spy Pilot, began in Moscow. The whole world followed the trail. The family of the accused came to Moscow. His father, mother, and wife. There was just one man in the dock but the main charge was not against him. He could not do much alone. Those who were behind him could do considerably more. Everyone in the hall understood that. Powers himself knew it. [Video shows clip of wreckage and group of men, some in uniform walking toward it, court scenes. There follows actuality from trial.]

[Interrogator in court] "Mr. Powers, when did you receive your task of carrying out a flight over the territory of the Soviet Union?"

[Powers, in English, with translation into Russian provided] "On the morning of 1 May."

[Interrogator] "Defendant Powers, do you plead guilty to the charges?"

[Powers] "Guilty."

[Judge] "Comrade Judges. In upholding completely the state charges against Powers and in accordance with Article 2 of USSR law on criminal responsibility for a state crime I have every reason to ask the court to enforce the supreme punishment against the defendant powers before a Soviet court for the crime committed I do not insist on the death penalty being imposed on him and ask the court to sentence the defendant Powers to 15 years deprivation of liberty."

[Powers] "I realize that I have committed a very grave crime and that I deserve to be punished for it. I ask the court to consider all the evidence and take into consideration the fact not only that I committed the crime but also the circumstances which led me. I realize that Russian people consider me as an enemy. I can understand this. I plead with the court to judge me not as an enemy but as a man who is not a personal enemy of the Russian people."

[Kostolevskiy] Pilot Powers did not consider himself to be a personal enemy of the Soviet people. But was General Eisenhower, our combat ally in the war, who lived through victory day with us, was he then the enemy of Soviet people? No, President Eisenhower wasn't either. Each person as an individual is not. But everyone together adds up to the Cold War. The peace conference

of heads of state with which so many hopes were linked was wrecked. That was the cost of that May Day. [Video shows Eisenhower in uniform waving to people on Red Square and standing on Lenin's mausoleum with Stalin and others as smiling thin children walk by, then in civilian clothes seated at table apparently speaking into microphone.]

Vienna. There was a change of president in the United States that year. There was no alternative. There was a need to learn to listen, and to listen to each other. The young president inherited from Eisenhower not only the Oval Office in the White House but also his agonizing problems, and he moved bravely toward resolving them. Superficially everything looked urbane and easy. Viennese waltzes in a Viennese palace, cocktails and receptions. Heads of state and their wives. This alleviates excess terror, a fateful mistake in state relations which could cost the life of our planet. An error, an accident, a start up button pressed in haste. That is what arouses the president's apprehension. Khrushchev understood him well. And so their meeting which had practically no visible results was in reality so important. The heads of the two superpowers agreed on a hot line between them for use in the event of conflict. That line would operate once. [Video shows building with U.S. flag and another flag flying outside it, John F. Kennedy emerges from car to shake hands with waiting Khrushchev, Kennedy and Khrushchev mounting staircase talking, Khrushchev and Kennedy together on sofa, Khrushchev, Kennedy and Jackie Kennedy at reception together, Kennedy waving as limousine bearing Soviet flag drives off.]

Now we see an April dawn in 1961. It is 0500. Look after the little girls Valesha, he whispered. Who will it be, asked his wife quietly. I don't know. It might be me and it might be someone else. When will it be? The 14th. He was not lying. He really did not know whether it would be him or one of the others. He only knew that the date was not fixed for the 14th but earlier. He didn't tell his wife the date especially because he didn't want too much fuss. [Video shows young man and woman fondling baby. Then the man puts baby into cot and waves.]

[Kostolevskiy—continued] In Moscow he went to Red Square and then to the Lenin Hills. They were off. [Video shows same car as before in Moscow then clock face reading 0907 or 2107, and a radio announcer speaking into a microphone. He says: "This is Moscow. This is Moscow. All radio stations of the Soviet Union are on the air. We are broadcasting a TASS report on the world's first manned space flight." The announcement appears to be broadcast over loudspeakers in the streets and smiling people are shown walking along in groups. Three men are shown in coats marked "Hurray for Gagarin", "Space is ours", "We got there first" and others are shown with posters and banners celebrating his achievement.]

He was not off the earth for long at all. But it was enough to conquer space, time, souls, hearts, and minds. He was the right choice, this cosmonaut number one. He personified the age, the country and was simply a reliable lad.

Our age has known many stars but there has been none more brilliant than this man of the stars. [Video shows Gagarin looking somewhat pale reclining in aircraft seat, planes flying in formation. Then Gagarin in uniform descending steps from aircraft and walking along red carpet. When he reaches the end he mounts steps on to rostrum where Khrushchev takes off his hat. Brezhnev and Kosygin are also on the platform]

[Gagarin, saluting] "Comrade first secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, I am happy to report to you that the task of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government has been fulfilled. The world's first space flight was accomplished on a Soviet Vostok space craft on 12 April 1961. Major Gagarin." [Video then shows Khrushchev embracing Gagarin at some length. As Gagarin shakes hands with Brezhnev and others on the platform, Khrushchev is shown wiping his eyes on a handkerchief. Gagarin then greets another group of people on the platform, before walking off with a smiling Khrushchev across the tarmac. Next he is shown waving to huge crowd from open-topped car with motor cycle escort. Helicopters drop leaflets on to the streets. Portrait of Gagarin floats in sky borne along by bunch of balloons. Close-up of Gagarin in same open topped car. This time Khrushchev is with him also smiling and waving to crowd which waves back smiling enthusiastically. Motorcade is shown driving toward the Kremlin]

[Kostolevskiy] How can that day be described. There are events which even film is not capable of expressing. They can only be lived through. On that day all of mankind was young. We experienced childlike rapture at a miracle. There were no wise old men. We were all like children. We were not ashamed of our naive happiness. All around were just the same. The world was united. It seemed to be the strongest and happiest staggering event of our century. Somewhere in that festive motorcade in the distant 20th closed vehicle was Academician Korolev. It was a festival for him as well. But nobody knew that there was any need to congratulate him. It was very strictly forbidden to photograph him. But here at the Space Design Office Korolev was filmed by special cameramen. [Video: Gagarin and Khrushchev wave to crowd from Lenin's mausoleum. Then unidentified man is shown shaking hands with Gagarin as the crowd looks on before mounting rostrum to address those assembled]

The chief designer and the first cosmonaut had come to pay their respects to those who had given their lives to this flight together with them.

There is one outer space for every one and one victory. But the U.S. rocket center had no wish to stop the furious race which was exhausting both participants. The leaders were still the same. Werner Von Braun and Kurt Debus an old friend and comrade. At one time they received their lofty SS shoulder straps together. True, the secret file on Kurt Debus says bluntly "fervent Nazi". But the dossier was kept well out of the way. The official biography had long since been rewritten. He was again at

the heights of command and was responsible for rocket launches. He was a serious scientist and a good specialist. And the rockets which he launched were also good ones. The results were reported to the president via a direct line. It did not matter that it was the night. The president was waiting. The news was of the utmost importance. It looks like we're catching the Russians. But still the president was worried. He personally visited Werner von Braun at the center and personally viewed space technology. He saw that a lot was being done and he didn't hurry things but nonetheless he wanted to know where and when. What precisely did he mean?

Where and when can we overtake them in this area.

Werner von Braun also gave a straight answer: On the ground never. It will have to be on the moon now.

But they have already been there.

Those were rockets. We will send a man. If the United States cannot be first it must be the only one.

What do you need for that?

Dollars. Thousands of millions of dollars.

They're yours.

Something on which so much money is spent needs advertizing. [Video shows rocket on launch pad, two men, work in progress on rocket, people in control room, rocket lifting off, Kennedy at space center.]

[Kostolevskiy—continues] But Von Braun had never been surrounded by attention. Sometimes he found this attention excessive. He wanted to move in the shadows. Sometimes, but not today. Werner von Braun returned to his homeland, Germany, but now as a U.S. citizen. No not for ever. For a film premier. Hollywood had made a film about his life. It was called Reaching for the Stars. The United States shot the film and Germany arranged the festive premiere. True, some people with placards milled about near the wheels of the cars. They had scribbled a few antirocket slogans and antinuclear slogans. Who would take any notice of them? The premier was a glorious success. He was convinced that the people did not know him and did not remember him. The film could not fail for the life of its hero was a success. And that was how his life really was—if you leave out a few details and they had already been left out. [Video shows man descending from aircraft to be greeted by crowd, band playing, cinema, U.S. Army trucks displaying rockets, protesters with placards in German.]

But nonetheless it was this brilliant man who attracted the attention of the world at the time. It was not to him that hearts and love were given. Everyone had another name on their lips. Gagarin. [Video shows Gagarin in

motorcade tossing flowers to the crowd, man with moustache pumping Gagarin's hand, Gagarin receiving congratulations from women, a black man, people of Oriental appearance, Gagarin being thronged, Gagarin in motorcade driving past pyramids and people on camels.]

Havana, Cuba. Fall 1962. An anxious, unsteady time. Kennedy promised Castro's enemies to return this banner to a Cuba where there would be no reds. What on earth made the president take this unexpected step is unknown. There was an economic blockade as well as military manouvers on land and in the air and finally a U.S. Congress resolution to fight against the new Cuba by any means up to using arms. Word for word. The revolution in Cuba brought echoes to distant Russia of something which happened a long time ago. Something forgotten but beloved. It was like it had been for us in 1917 and as it was in Madrid in 1936. 'Patria o Muerte' stirred people up like 'no pasaran'.

Cuba needed friends and strength. We promised defense and weapons. Kennedy gathered a crisis group at the National Security Council. He had to hear them all out. The opinion of the military men was war. He alone would decide. [Video shows Castro and other people in rain at airport to greet delegation descending from aircraft marked USSR 75708, flooded street with motorcade, stormy shore, Kennedy at mass meeting with banner marked Brigada Asalto, Castro pacing up and down with two men, Soviet ship, Kennedy at meeting with men in uniform. Kennedy speaking.]

[Kennedy in English with Russian translation] "Nobody can foresee what consequences will follow from certain events and what losses lie ahead of us. The price of freedom is high but the Americans are well used to paying for it in full. The only path which we reject is retreat and surrender."

[Kostolevskiy] The world has been divided into two: those who decide and those who await the decisions. There are thousands of millions of the latter. During these fateful days Kennedy often recalled the words of President, General Eisenhower. The opinion of military men isn't worth a cent, even on military matters. And the brass hats were putting the pressure on. They were for invasion. Invasion would mean war. They had everything ready. They wanted to fight. That was their business. [Video shows Kennedy speaking, ships at sea, U.S. aircraft in air, people getting on to ship, children in classroom practising atomic drill, U.S. troops, Soviet ship, anxious faces, U.S. troops disembarking from aircraft marked U.S. Air Force Military Air Training, Kennedy being piped aboard ship.]

This is where the command to fire is given. [Video shows Kennedy standing at control panel.] War? No that would be suicide. Invasion? No a blockade from the sea. [Video shows ships at sea, submarine, planes taking off from carrier, marked U.S. Air Force, Castro delivering address, girls walking about, field gun, radar equipment.

As video preceeds to show trucks with red star carrying missiles, the voice of a Moscow radio announcer is heard to say "This is Moscow. All the Soviet Union's radio stations are on the air. The Commander in Chief of the combined armed forces of the Warsaw Pact countries, Marshal of the Soviet Union Grechko..."

The ships of the superpowers were on the quarantine line. Peace hung by a thread. Moscow initiates a direct conversation. Compromise, guarantees. The United States gave a firm guarantee not to invade Cuba but to respect its sovereignty. Cuba will live. Peace will live. Our ships sailed for home. [Video shows ships at sea. Kennedy chewing spectacles and on telephone, Kennedy writing at desk, Soviet ship sailing, Castro with young boys, then Kennedy addressing meeting.]

[Kennedy in English with superimposed Russian] "We are all used to traditional war schemes, to troops ready to cross frontiers, to missiles ready for launch. Now it is becoming clear that this cannot go on. Our security can be completely safeguarded without a single shot being fired and without frontiers being crossed. We are going to use the lesson that we have had. We intend to apply our efforts in another direction."

[Kostolevskiy] On 22 November 1962 the state of enhanced combat readiness ended. The Caribbean crisis was over. Exactly 1 year later, on 22 November 1963, President Kennedy was in Dallas. [Video shows children run to kiss Kennedy, film of Kennedy's assassination.]

A quarter of a century has passed since then. The world has not laid down its arms and the risk has not diminished. Life has become even more dangerous. They had Challenger. We had Chernobyl. They had Challenger. We had Chernobyl. No there is no "they had". There is no "we had". It happened on earth, under one sky. There is no way back. There is only the road toward each other. [Video shows Challenger crew before launch, Challenger exploding and faces of onlookers, Chernobyl decontamination operations, face of child, Reagan and Gorbachev at Reykjavik, Soviet and U.S. flags flying side by side, earth as seen from space.]

Slutskiy's Poetry on Stalin, Anti-Semitism Published

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[Poem by Boris Slutskiy prepared for publication and foreword by Yuriy Boldyrev: "Contemporary Reflections"]

[Excerpts] In February 1977, a week after the death of his wife and within two and one-half months of the illness which cut him off from poetry and from creativity, after asking for help in compiling a volume of selected poems for the "Khudozhestvennaya Literatura" Publishing House, Boris Abramovich said to me:

"I just don't know how to put it together. If it's by subjects—won't it be boring for the reader to read about the same thing over and over? If it's by books, the same war will prove to be scattered throughout the entire book."

"But there is a third principle, the chronological one," I said, not at a loss.

"I've never put dates on poems, except once in a while as camouflage."

He wrote the same thing in "*Note to a Poem*" (the book of verses "*Sroki*" [Periods of Time]): "... the magic of the place of the event enters, like the band in a regiment, into the ritual of the ascent or procession as long as one is ascending... But when your books are always on sale, for some reason nobody cares what inspired you, what landscapes, and whether it was written recently or long ago."

Now, in leafing through the working notebooks of the poet I see that dates below the poems are extremely rare. There are none at all in the earlier notebooks and in the later ones they exist merely to remind the author himself of the circumstances which accompany the appearance of the poem in print: "at some point, after some bell" or "at some point, at 0400 hours, in 25 minutes."

So future researchers will hardly succeed in establishing exactly when the verses were written—or even approximate dates: even the year or the five-year period is not easy.

Of the verses included in this article one can say with certainty that most of them were written before the mid-1960's; the poet gave me only "*Monument of Old Times*," "*The Tea Merchants*," and "*The Blind Man Asks for Mercy from the Parrot*..." for reprinting in the 1970's; the rest were much earlier.

One may assume that the poem "*About Jews*" was written at the time of the anti-Jewish campaign of late 1952-early 1953, "*Contemporary Reflections*" and "*I believed all the slogans to the fullest*..."—between March 1953 and February 1956 (that is, the date of the work of the 20th Congress and the famous report by N.S. Khrushchev), and "*I Am Embellishing Reality*" is clearly related to the preparation and publication of Slutskiy's first book "*Memory*" (1957), while "*Both Sides of the Desk*" was produced by the time when the lawlessness of the Stalin years again began to be relegated to the zone of silence and secrecy. Memoir writers and researchers will someday substantiate or dispute these conjectures.

Novels from the curriculum,
I visit on your pages.
I forgive all camps and pogroms
For these novels.

Not the Kursk flame, not the Pskov, not the Tula,
Not the flame creeping into your family,
Your flame—dull and dim—
I still preserve in my heart.

Not my moth-eaten conscience,
But Pushkin's solid tale
And Chekhov's honest story
Have held me back more than once.

But if I was a coward and surrendered,
And if I resorted to deceit,
It means I did not hold on tightly
To the old and good novel.

You are a homeland to the most homeless,
You are a lair for the most homeless,
And to your noble pages
I shout "hurrah!" three times.

From the prologue to the epilogue
To me you are a lair and den,
And I need no other home
But the ancient volumes.

Conductors of truth do not need pipes.
Conductors of truth are not a holiday but labor!

Conductors of truth do not need bands:
Music is squeamish, painting disdains.

They may put it in a grave or pound it into a wall,
shave, trim, or shorten it up:

they work silently as if they are spinning,
quietly make noise, as if they are knitting mittens.

They will do the work but not say a word.
They will wash their hands and leave at once.

Contemporary Reflections

On that morning Stalin was buried in the Mausoleum.
But it was an ordinary evening—limpid and crystal-clear.
I stepped quietly in measured steps
alone with Moscow
and here is what I thought, truly,
like a bright lad:
the age of spectacles is over,
the age of bread has come.
A smoke break has been declared
among those who stormed the sky.
The people, sleeping in their boots
for who knows how many years,
have sat down for a bit
to rewind their foot bindings.
No, I did not think that,

I thought something else:
that he had been here—and now he was not,
the giant and the hero.
Moscow is like a house
cast away and abandoned.
How shall we live without Stalin?
I looked around:
Moscow was not sad,
Moscow was empty.
One cannot grieve tirelessly.
Everyone was deathly tired.
Everyone was sleeping, only the yardmen
swept furiously,
as if they were tearing out and
scraping roots from the ground,
as if ripping out from the deeply frozen soil
the shout of his orders, the handwriting of his
decrees;
the traces of the three days of death
and the old traces
of the 30-year rule,
of majesty and misfortune.

I walked along further and further
and before me appeared his palaces and facto-
ries—
everything that Stalin erected:
the towers of the tall buildings,
the rectangular forms of the squares...

Socialism has been built.
Let us settle it with people.

I believed in all the slogans to the fullest
And I followed them silently,
Just as people walked into fire
in the name of the Son, the Father,
And the dove, the Holy Spirit.

And if the rock has crumbled into dust,
And a chasm opens wide, silent,
And if there was a small mistake—
I take the blame onto myself.

About Jews

Jews do not sow grain,
Jews do business in shops,
Jews grow bald earlier,
Jews steal more.

Jews are evil people,
They are poor soldiers:
Ivan fights in the trench,
Abram does business at the worker's cooperative.

I've heard all this since childhood,
Soon I will be an altogether old man,
But still there's no getting away
From the shout of "Jews, Jews!"

Never having done business even once,
Never having stolen even once,
Like a plague I carry within myself
This cursed race.

The bullet passed by me,
So that they said truthfully,
"The Jews weren't killed!
Everyone returned alive!"

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Longer Version of Kamshalov Supreme Soviet Speech

*PM190851 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in
Russian 22 Oct 87 p 2*

[Speech by Deputy A.I. Kamshalov of Khaapsalyskiy
Electoral Okrug, Estonian SSR, (chairman of USSR
State Cinematography Committee) delivered at 20 Octo-
ber afternoon session of USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of
Nationalities]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Deputies! The drafts of the
1988 plan and budget which we are discussing today are
a concrete, realistically conceived work program for all
sectors of the economy on the path of restructuring.

I would like to note with particular satisfaction that this
program appropriates substantially more funds and
resources than last year for the development of the
sociocultural sphere. And yet the economy, as we all
know, is under strain. The state has no money to spare.
The country is dealing with the solution of many excep-
tionally complex economic tasks which brook neither
delay nor halfhearted measures. But even in these con-
ditions the party and the government, displaying con-
cern for man's spiritual growth, have allocated the max-
imum amount possible for social needs and culture.

But routine optimism would be out of place now. The
plans we have approved are intensive plans.

In order to fulfill our plans, a fundamentally new
approach to questions of cultural development is
required. The need for cardinal changes is also acutely
felt in cinematography. It is no secret that in the last 15
years the social prestige of our cinema has markedly
dropped. A considerable proportion of Soviet movies
were of no relevance to the viewer. The social activeness
of the movies correspondingly declined. During the
years of stagnation an administrative edict, bureaucratic
style of leadership, which is especially unacceptable with
regard to creative work, was fostered. A large proportion

of the blame for all this lies with the USSR State Committee for Cinematography, as well as the Cinematography Workers Union, which withdrew from active participation in the development of cinematographic art during that period. Many wonderful plans were dampened in this atmosphere, careers collapsed dramatically, the growth of young workers was curtailed.

Restructuring in cinematography is now gathering strength, even though we are not fully satisfied with its pace. Fulfillment of the plan targets set for next year and the 5-year plan for the sector—this will be a real indicator of the practical implementation of restructuring in cinematography. Hence the new demands as regards the organization of the sector's management.

The underestimation of economic accountability principles and economic management methods and the absence of a well thought out system of price formation and commodity-money relations in cinematography led to instability in the financial situation of a number of the country's leading studios. A most important sector of activity—financial and economic work—disappeared from the State Committee for Cinematography's field of view. The requisite coordination of sectorial and territorial plans did not exist. Proportionality and balance were violated in developing movie studios and movie rental organizations.

All this had serious consequences. In its present condition even a major movie enterprise such as "Mosfilm" can only provide a certain percentage of its program with quality production capacities. The material and technical base of "Lenfilm," "Kirgizfilm," and a number of other studios in the country is in a deplorable state.

The movie rental service and the movie theater network are probably in an even worse condition. In the last 10 years the number of seats in permanent movie theaters for city residents has decreased by more than 10 percent. It is an alarming fact that local soviets responsible for the building of movie theaters have sharply cut back on loan-funded construction work in the last 2-3 years. Such construction has come to a full stop in Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kirghizia, Latvia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Estonia.

Basic principles have now been elaborated for restructuring movie production, the movie rental service, and our entire cinematographic business. These principles are beginning to be translated into practical, specific actions. Studios have been given the right to make independent decisions on all key matters concerning their activity. Many cadre and organizational questions are resolved in a new fashion, in an atmosphere of democratization and glasnost, and with active participation by the public.

It is only natural that the state of affairs in cinematography is judged by the movies it produces. This is only fair. We are not losing sight of this main goal in our work

on restructuring. Bearing in mind the movies that have been completed, it may be rather early to speak of any particularly noticeable changes in cinematography. But even now we already have movies testifying to the growth of Soviet cinematography workers' creative activeness. It is no accident that recently there has been livelier audience interest in the movies. And this is encouraging.

It is clear, however, that the measures in the initial stage of restructuring, the improvement in the creative climate, and the moral changes in relations between the State Committee for Cinematography and the people who create artistic values still do not guarantee the irreversibility of restructuring. But not everything here is dependent on movie workers. A whole series of state resolutions providing for fundamental changes in the sector's economic and organizational links is necessary. It is necessary to introduce a new system of financing movie production and organizing rental. A system which would make each movie worker really interested in end results, in their value and importance. Such resolutions already exist in draft form. They must not only be adopted but also fully implemented.

Important resolutions on problems of cinematography were also adopted in the past. But they often remained only on paper. The departments supposed to provide the material and technical base for cinematography did not consider themselves bound by the resolutions.

Here is just one example.

You cannot make a movie without film. But what can you do if in just the 1st 9 months of this year moviemakers failed to receive more than 1 million meters of color film? Work on 60 out of 150 feature movies was under threat of disruption. This represents a tremendous moral loss, a blow against artists.

Not to mention the quality of film. Even when film bears the state acceptance seal, more than 5 percent of supplies received by studios and the copying industry are substandard. Yet how many documents have been issued ordering the Ministry of the Chemical Industry to set matters right! And how many representations have been made! But nothing has happened yet.

The cinematography industry does not intend to remain a millstone around the state's neck. Our aim is to create a structure whereby cinematography can not only cover its expenses, but also supplement the country's budget and give the maximum social return.

The transformations which we have begun also envisage reducing the excess managerial apparatus in State Committee for Cinematography organizations and at studios. It does seem, however, that this work ought not to be reduced to a formal merger. It has been suggested, for example, that cinematography organs at republican and local level be merged with cultural organs. In other

words, to set up one managerial organization instead of two, with a slightly larger staff. And this is held to be in keeping with the spirit of the time. But could this not end up being nothing but a disguised retention of the very same "leftover principle" in satisfying cultural needs? Serious doubts arise when you hear it said that amalgamation will apparently make it possible to use one vehicle to transport both movies and books. But before you know it, movies will fail to reach their destinations and books will be lost...

Our concept is far removed from departmental ambitions. It is based on creating a chain of enterprises operating on the principles of real economic accountability and self-financing, with the sector being strategically led by the state organization, instead of a cosmetic straightening out of the management chain.

Comrade Deputies! The tasks formulated in the 1988 plans do not promise an easy life for anyone. But these are feasible tasks. The need to fulfill them is dictated by the basic goal set by the party: To lead Soviet society to a qualitatively new level of socioeconomic and cultural development. There is no other way for us. We all must embrace the idea that without solving the problems of the social and cultural sphere, without mobilizing the human factor, without solving the problems of the construction of kindergartens, boarding schools, schools, hospitals, polyclinics, physical culture and health complexes, and cultural enlightenment institutions—in one word, without the spiritual sphere—we will not solve the problems of the country's economic development.

Figures in socialist culture, literature, art, and cinematography have vigorously embarked on restructuring, and they believe in it and in the irreversibility of the process of democratizing our life. But we must resolutely move on from words, of which there have been plenty recently, to real actions and deeds and to the creation of movies which our society needs.

Thank you for your attention. (Applause)

Transit Passengers Use Movie Theaters as Hotels
18120006a Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 43, 1-8 Nov 87 p 14

[Article by Dmitry Semyonov]

[Text] "I never saw anybody going to the cinema with a suitcase," a man said. "Perhaps they're selling something inside," a woman replied.

The two were looking in amazement at a crowd going out of the Perekop cinema in the middle of the night. Another night show of "The Count of Monte Cristo" was over. According to the cinema staff, their audience consisted mostly of transit passengers. Night showing at the Perekop cinema (which is situated near three large railway stations) are designed mostly for the people "in

the waiting rooms." The cinema was even dubbed the "sleeping car," which is misleading, because only a few people (not more than 10 at each performance) come to the cinema to sleep.

To begin with, the Perekop staff were against the "night-time experiments." But after a month or so, their attitude changed. Between 22:00 and 24:00 hours, the wages are 50 percent higher, and between 24:00 and 06:00 they are doubled. Some of the night ushers get almost as much as the daytime manager.

Moscow will soon see the opening of another three late-night cinemas. This is just the first step towards creating normal services for those who don't sleep nights. Many problems remain still unsolved in this area.

Many people know about chemists' shops opened during night hours. But it is not only sick people who have needs. One cannot buy milk, bread or lemonade at night. Nor can one find a place to eat. There's just one canteen selling pelmeni (meat dumplings) round the clock, situated near the outlying Shcholkovskaya Metro Station.

If one gets a problem with torn or creased trousers, missing buttons or some such thing, the only place one can turn to is the hairdresser's at the railway station. No other services are rendered during night hours.

The only area where progress has been notable is public transport. At present there are 178 bus, 39 trolleybus and 57 tram routes operating at night. The timetable of 25 suburban trains has been changed—mostly to accommodate the needs of the industry working three shifts.

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Ryazanov's New Comedy on Bureaucrats Draws Crowds
18120006b Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 46, 22-29 Nov 87 p 11

[Article by Valery Kichin about Eldar Ryazanov's new film 'A Forgotten Tune for the Flute']

[Text] Long before its general release, "A forgotten tune for the Flute" opened last summer's Moscow Film Festival: the film makers received it coldly, and the critics were very disparaging. Answering the questionnaire of the NEDELYA weekly, most of them gave the film two points out of five.

However, Eldar Ryazanov's film was the unrivalled favourite of the recent Odessa Alternative where it received the filmgoers' award, Gold Duc. Sociologists predict a great box-office success, and with good reason: the film is now on in Moscow's largest cinema and people queue for hours to see it.

When professionals discuss the film they prove beyond all reasonable doubt that eclecticism has ruined it, that the popular comedy maker's career is at an all-time low. But look at the results of the express opinion poll shown on TV: almost all the people leaving the cinema after seeing the film said they liked it. "A Forgotten Tune for the Flute" evokes meaningful echoes in the hearts of cinemagoers.

Critics have been talking about a "decline" in Ryazanov's career for years. According to press reviews, his films are full of lapses. Nevertheless, many of his pictures have become Soviet classics without our noticing it. Not only professionals, but also most filmgoers are now familiar with the name Ryazanov. People go to see every new "Ryazanov film." Not even the critics reproach him with pandering to the public taste, though, they often praise his good intentions, but invariably criticize his style. It seems to many that Eldar Ryazanov, the film director, violates the most obvious rules of film making.

Working with his friend and co-author Emil Braginsky, Ryazanov has been making pictures full of good humour and kindness, capable of inspiring hope even in the hearts of the most hopeless losers. But, once, in the middle of the "stagnation period," he chose to be merciless and cutting to show how our world was crumbling around us once its moral foundation has eroded. For 90 minutes we attended the sitting of shareholders in a cooperative garage-building society to see the characters "eating" one another in open rivalry. In the fight for a scarce commodity like the garage they lost countenance. The situation and the types were so easily recognizable that the local bosses in many parts of the country did not allow "The Garage" to be shown for years. Writing a good review about the film was almost impossible, or rather, the writing was easy, because the film makers had touched upon the topic well familiar to everybody though forbidden for public discussion. It was impossible to publish a favourable review. Following the official opinion of the Soviet cinematography administrators who hated "The Garage," the press insinuated that the film director's taste was "deteriorating" and he "lost responsibility," to quote Filipp Yermash, the then chairman of the State Committee for Cinematography.

In real fact it was Ryazanov's sharp sense of responsibility and his readiness to tell people the bitter truth about themselves that bothered cinematography bosses. He spoke openly about the frenzied skidding we now call "stagnation" and about its moral consequences. His film was like a mirror which should not be blamed for the ugliness of the faces it reflected.

"The Garage" was perhaps, the only satirical comedy made in those hard years. Therefore, it was publicly denounced as an artistic failure. Bureaucrats did not mind looking undemocratic. But they considered laughter as a threat to their fundamental principles. Comedy was therefore the prime target of suppression and attack. Few comedians stuck to their guns in those years, but Ryazanov did.

He has developed a personal fierce hatred of bureaucrats, which makes "A Forgotten Tune for the Flute" the first comedy of the petrestoika period. Laughter can destroy obsolete moral principles in people's minds. The monumental figures sitting comfortably in big offices prove to be paper tigers once you start thinking critically about what they do for a living.

The characters in Ryazanov's new film "work" in the Central Leisure Department. The title of the office is fictitious, but its functions are akin to those of many offices smoothly running to date. "Ours is not to plough or sow or build—ours is to take pride in the social system." This song opening the film formulates the life philosophy of a large breed of people who are not only unable to create anything, but are deeply distrustful of any creative idea unless it has been approved by the higher authorities. It is our pervading bureaucracy that has cultivated the breed in question.

Without ascribing too serious functions to comedy, I would like to note that once you stop laughing, you realize that "A Forgotten Tune for the Flute" offers an in-depth analysis of the phenomenon in question. The meaning of the film goes beyond its ingenious plot of skillful characterization. If it didn't one would have to agree with the critics who found the film's style and logic deficient. The concept of "A Forgotten Tune for the Flute" is publicistic from beginning to end. It is a film about a whole class of bureaucrats, about their mentality and life style, rather than a story about one concrete official. The film shows how officialdom kills humanity. It shows what catastrophic consequences follow if a normal human feeling like love or dignity finds its way into life of a bureaucrat. Should an official suddenly turn human, his whole upside-down world crumbles around him, he becomes an outlaw among his fellow bureaucrats.

Actor Leonid Filatov plays the part of an art administrator. He is emphatically modern and presentable in his well-tailored suit, with his good manners, intelligence and sense of humour. His colleagues do not seem monsters either. But their distorted values make their life grotesque and their fervent activity ominously pointless. Everything they do is absurd yet real and recognizable. The film makers view their characters with anguish and wrath, as the film exposes the modern bureaucrat's fantastic ability to adapt himself to any changes and make them pointless. The Department of Leisure is restructuring. They can no longer ban new plays—so they just don't recommend them for production. They devise more civilized ways to close down unplanned exhibitions of "independent artists," without using bulldozers. The leisure administrators have to think hard to try and achieve the same results through more subtle methods. And, it has to be admitted, they succeed. Bureaucrats are great adjusters. This is their strong point.

The situation is all the more dramatic because the bureaucratic tumour in the given case does not simply frustrate the production of, say, vital parts for machines and computers. It is a brain tumour that has paralyzed people's consciousness and made them slaves. Bureaucrats consider every free flight of thought or imagination a direct threat to their power. People must play, sing, talk and think in keeping with the plans developed by bureaucrats. The idea of carefully regulated life as the only possible form of rational existence has been successfully promoted for so long that it has become accepted by whole generations of common people having to do with bureaucracy. Suspicion and aggressive intolerance of any spontaneous idea coming from "below" are the scourge of our life, and a deadweight round our feet. For each innovator there are hundreds of conservatives—a handicap we'll all have to work under for some time to come.

Such is the constructive programme of the film, which does not "castigate" or "condemn." It simply gives us back that great liberty of free laughter. It rehabilitates the faculty of critical thought, and the once unsurmountable wall dividing the world of bosses from that of their subordinates collapses.

I find Ryazanov's film very good because it squeezes slavery from our hearts, drop by drop, through one conscientious effort after another. This is why the audience responds so enthusiastically. This is why, unlike other queues, the long queues for tickets to this film encourage hope.

I am not going to grieve over the film's aesthetical lapses, the clashes of various stylers, such as genre and fantasy, grotesque and lyrical, dramatic and naturalistic. All of them make up what I find a well-balanced and logical string of arguments exposing the phenomenon the film makers find so hateful. A banal triangle is used to tell the story of a bureaucrat and a human being fighting within the heart of one man in a life-or-death struggle. The sepulchral visions of another bureaucrat, make us understand how empty and shallow his life is, with no chance of "taking a fresh start."

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Actors Leave Established Theater To Join Fired Director

18120006c Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 46, 22-29 Nov 87 pp 8-9

[Article by Alexander Minkin]

[Text] Twenty-five actors left a well-established company and joined a company whose members were young people. They sacrificed their positions, prestige, chances of promotion and benefits. Why did they do it?

Actors in 140 theatres went on the war path against their chief directors this spring, demanding their dismissal. As time wore on the number of rebellious companies changed minds and asked for their dismissed director back. Their rebellion, if you can call it so, lasted more than 3 years.

Bakhadyr Yuldashev is a young and gifted man who at 28 was made director of the foremost stage company in Uzbekistan. The newspapers wrote about the youngest director: Strange as it is he is equal to his job. In Asia this was more of an event than elsewhere, believe me. "A boy" ordering around venerable bemedalled actors was breaking all the traditions, but he succeeded. He won respect and authority. Unfortunately for him, some folks found him obstinate.

He would not have actor T. Azizov play Othello, though this man was used to pulling financial and other strings and could afford to pick and choose parts. Yuldashev refused to stage plays written by Deputy Minister of Culture U. Umarbekov thinking, perhaps that the three or four "minister's dramas" already on the company's repertoire were plenty.

They played "according to the rules." Yuldashev was removed. The Khamza put on another of the minister's potboilers. T. Azizov cast as Othello asked Ye. Simonov, the then director of the Vakhtangov Theatre, to come over from Moscow to do the production.

In 1984, Yuldashev started to direct the Molodaya Gvardiya (Young Guard) Theatre. In the meantime the Khamza actors were campaigning for his return. Forty-six actors were received by Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan R. Abdulayeva. They pleaded, urged and threatened a walk out. The secretary's reaction was: "You are free to leave."

Hard to believe, but Abdulayeva was prepared to fire three fourths of the reputed company to keep her figure-heads. The latter received all the backing, were saved from court trials for their financial machinations and other crimes. Tickets were sold for productions which never took place. The man in charge of the district committee of public control himself forged records.

Perestroika was under way. By the end of spring Abdulayeva was finally removed. She wasn't retired and put on a pension but fired for "professional misconduct."

The Khamza cheered up. A meeting was called which went on for 3 days and was attended by the newly appointed Uzbek Party Secretary M. Khalmukhamedov. All grievances were vented.

The decision made public a month and a half later said that no charges should be made at the Khamza Theatre, implying that the conflict would gradually fade out and

everything would be OK. In parting the phrase was dropped: "Those unwilling to stay on may join the Molodaya Gvardiya." Yuldashev's company, that is.

The bosses had forgotten that what was at issue was not the recent quarrel, but the battle that had lasted 7 years (if you consider that it had started with the conflict).

No one wished to put up with the situation any longer. No one could, and why should they when the whole country was breaking up all that was ossified and immoral?

The bureaucrats expected that two or three actors—troublemakers—would leave. Twenty-five left instead.

Learning about this, I took a plane to Tashkent. I was positive that those who had gone over to Yuldashev were likeminded actors of his age and some middle-aged actors. I was wrong.

They were leading actors!

I went through the list: the actors had played in 13, 14, 16, 17 production. Some had been with the theatre 10, 25 or 35 years.

It is difficult to believe but among those who left were People's and merited Artists, that is—the successful ones. On the list were the People's Artists, winners of State Prizes Z. Sadriyeva and Kh. Khodzhayeva, both have been with the Khamza since 1929. Nearly 50 years! What could make the distinguished veterans of the stage leave their own theatre and seek refuge with the young company?

Let me briefly mention Moscow. The Satire Theatre there lost two of its leading actors Papanov and Mironov who died this summer. So, 10 productions had to be withdrawn from the bill. Ten! They had to be withdrawn because you cannot find substitutes in a hurry.

The Khamza again lost 25 leading actors and that lost it the entire repertory. The theatre was unable to start the season.

To save face scaffold was put up overnight around the theatre building ostensibly for exterior repairs. I didn't see a single worker on the site in 11 days I went there specially to see what was happening. No workers could do anything there because the scaffolding had no planking!

The director did not even express regret at the loss of his company. Instead he wrote in the paper that those who had left were people unwilling to work for the general good, who cared only for their own well-being. Egotists. An unpatriotic lot.

Practically on the very day his article was printed, the director did not feel ashamed to call and ask his friends to ring up those who had left him: and request them to come back and give a hand! We cannot do without you! Without the slightest compunction he was inviting "unpatriotic egotists," without wondering if such types were capable of lofty artistism.

All refused pointblank. Then the ministry swang into action, true to its methods. They turned on Yuldashev and his (now his!) actors and demanded that they come to the Khamza and play between productions at the Molodaya Gvardiya.

It is uphill task arranging things so that an actor can appear on a different stage from time to time. What if there are 25 actors, and they are supposed to be on that stage every night? What if the Khamza goes on tour?

The actors could not agree, though it was dangerous to say no. Because it was now U. Umarbekov who was being made Uzbekistan's minister of culture, now in perestroika's third year. It is the same man whose plays used to appear so frequently on the Khamza billboard and who used to be taken to task in many articles appearing in national newspapers. Even on the day of his inauguration—a coincidence—the SOVIET KULTURA wrote that the worst production of the worst play (in Leningrad) was Umarbekov's "Deputy" at the comedy Theatre.

The Molodaya Gvardiya actors said they would not play at the Khamza. Then the Molodaya Gvardiya actors said they would not play at the Khamza. Then the Molodaya Gvardiya were told they could not play the three plays which used to be hits at the Khamza. But were they not produced by Yuldashev? All plays produced by him continued to run after his dismissal, of course. But what's happening now that he and all the actors are at the Molodaya Gvardiya?

Those who imposed the ban did not feel ashamed (they did not do it in writing, unwilling to go on record). At the Khamza young inexperienced actors were pressed into service. The production was hopelessly ruined and Yuldashev's name on the bill was pasted over with a piece of tape.

A futile stratagem: People do know who is who and are informed about the catastrophe that hit their favourite theatre.

It's easy to predict the further downfall of the Khamza, which seems to have hit the rock bottom. You may also hope that the Molodaya Gvardiya will come up with good productions.

But if the truth is to be said, 31 actors of the young theatre know only too well what it means to have another 25 actors of the Khamza among them. These Khamza people would want parts, leading parts at that.

A conflict is almost inevitable with the Molodaya Gvardiya.

However sad, this story does give grounds for optimism. There must have been unprecedented changes in the social consciousness of actors, proud and ambitious people who left the reputed state and renounced the privileges that go with it for the sake of their art, for the sake of doing what they want to do.

Not everything has a price tag. This makes me happy. I dearly hope that some people are scared by that.

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Teaching of Georgian Geography in Schools Severely Cut

18130402b [Editorial Report] Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO in Georgian No 28, 10 July 1987 carries on page 11 under the title "Entirely Unjustified" a 600-word article by Roman Kverenchkhiladze, deputy director for science in the Vakhushti Bagrationi Institute of Geography, deploring the decision to reduce even further the amount of time to be devoted to the study of Georgian geography in the republic's schools. In the 1920s, excellent geography programs and texts were developed and the tradition continued into the 1950s, when 70 hours were devoted to the subject. That, however, was later reduced to 36 hours—an amount which barely served to cover the extremely varied physical and economic geography of Georgia. Now, by decision of a body within the USSR Education Ministry ("Standard Program for Geography in the Union Republics"), that figure is to be reduced to 12 hours—of which 6 hours are designed for "practical work," leaving just 6 hours for basic instruction. This, compared with rather substantial time allocated to USSR, foreign, and general geography instruction in the schools. The study of one's own geography is just as essential as the study of one's own language and literature, says the author, and this totally unjustified move must be changed.

6854/12232

Azerbaijan's Georgians Request More Cultural Support

18130402c [Editorial Report] Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO in Georgian No 28, 10 July 1987 carries on page 12 an unattributed 100-word item titled "Ilia Day in Saingilo [the Azerbaijan district inhabited by ethnic Georgians, who are known as Ingilos]," which reports a recent gathering in the Alibeglo Theater in observance of the 150th anniversary of the birth of 19th-century literatus and statesman Ilia Chavchavadze. The event was sponsored by the Georgian Znaniye Society, and included a lecture about Ilia and Saingilo.

The appreciative audience requested that Georgian writers and scholars visit them more frequently and that more Georgian books and publications be made available to them.

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Georgian Poet Warns Against Mingrelian Patriotism

18130402d [Editorial Report] Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO in Georgian No 28, 10 July 1987 carries on page 13 under the title "Concerning a Certain Criticism" Nodar Dzhaldonia's 1,400-word rebuttal to Paust Nadaraia's 12 June article in which the latter accused Dzhaldonia of passing off translated Mingrelian folk poetry as his own original work. Citing samples, the author of this article demonstrates that the charge is groundless.

As he indicates in his concluding paragraphs, however, Dzhaldonia is most disturbed by Nadaraia's repeated and insistent focus on the Mingrelian originals and recognition thereof, an issue which Nadaraia stated "is an old one." Dzhaldonia calls this attitude "an apple of discord" that was proffered a century ago "either by clever enemies or silly friends." Fortunately, wiser heads led by Ilia Chavchavadze "rebuffed these domestic and foreign demagogues." From time to time, nevertheless, "certain village lane patriots have wittingly reached for that apple, a forbidden fruit which must not be taken and eaten."

Drawing on Chavchavadze's famous line, "I came to Mingrelia and I saw Georgia," the author devotes a brief poem to the same theme of the unity of Georgia overall its distinct districts.

6854/12232

Georgian Emigre Scholar Extolled

18130402e [Editorial Report] Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO in Georgian No 29, 17 July 1987 carries on page 13 under the rubric "Names Returned" and the title "A Scholar's intellectual horizons" Guram Sharadze's 1,800-word article sketching the life and prolific works of emigre scholar and publisher Viktor Nozadze, who died on 24 April 1975 in France and was buried in the Georgian cemetery at Leville near Paris. Nozadze went abroad to continue his education after graduating from Moscow University's School of Law in the late 1910s, and never returned to his homeland.

Devoting over half a century to "fine-toothed-comb" researches into the structure and content of the Georgian 12th-century epic "Man in the Panther's Skin," Nozadze traveled and lived in half-a-dozen countries of Europe and South America, where he wrote numerous articles and monographs on a variety of other subjects as well, in Georgian and other languages. He type-set and published

most of these works himself, and also edited emigre journals in various countries. In addition, he played a key role in the publication of his emigre countryman Kita Tschenkeli's monumental Georgian-German Dictionary (in Zurich) after the latter's death. Sharadze, the author of this article, provides a detailed list of Nozadze's works, including valuable ones as yet unpublished anywhere. Sharadze visited Nozadze's brother at Leville and examined some of these treasures as well as various works by Lado Gudiashvili and Davit Kakabadze, Georgian painters who had lived and worked in Paris.

In an aside, Sharadze states that the Soviet Georgian scholarly community "deserves credit" for acknowledging and appreciating Nozadze's works, as reflected in bibliographic references to him in some published writings—although in recent years, when such references were omitted, it took "a keen-eyed scholar" to spot Nozadze's influence and even "covert disputation" with him in Soviet Georgian literary studies.

Then Sharadze devotes several hundred words to a letter Nozadze's wrote in 1952 from Buenos Aires to the Georgian National Council in Paris, a letter which provides precious, hitherto unknown details concerning the fate of Archimandrite Grigol Peradze, the brilliant theologian and scholar long affiliated with the University of Warsaw, who died a hero's death [at Auschwitz] in 1942. Peradze had accumulated priceless early Georgian manuscripts and other historical relics in travels all over the Balkans and the Middle East before the War, items which he dreamed of turning over to the Georgian people one day. Most of his belongings, however, disappeared after his death, and efforts by Viktor Nozadze and his associates in Germany and elsewhere to track them down in the 1940s proved futile. Surely, Sharadze says, they still exist somewhere, and should be found.

The author notes that in the meantime, Viktor Nozadze's prodigious contributions to Georgian culture and scholarship are enough to make his name immortal.

6854/12232

Ligachev Helps Save Historic Georgian Monastery Complex

18130402f [Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 18 July 1987 carries on page 3 under the title "A New Page in the Life of Garedzhi" Irakli Tsitsishvili's 800-word article about the bright prospects of the Garedzhi monastery complex in the Udabno area of Sagaredzho Rayon southeast of Tbilisi, a string of 15 once magnificent architectural groups originally founded in the 6th century, surviving more or less intact through the 18th century, but on the verge of total ruin in recent decades—until now. Carved into the stone face of the mountain along a line 25 kilometers long, the Garedzhi complex consisted of monasteries, chapels, shrines, storehouses, farm and other economic structures, and

water systems. Despite repeated sackings by invaders (for example, the Seljuks in the 11th century), the community always rose up again to achieve even greater magnificence. Its highly innovative murals, begun in the 13th century, resemble the Siena school of Italian renaissance. Its final heyday, perhaps, came in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, under the leadership of Onopre Machutadze, who "managed to regain all its lost lands and rights." Irreversible decline set in after that.

In the Soviet era, of course, some concern was shown for it: A museum-preserve was created, also a People's Culture University, and the annual Garedzhoba celebration was instituted. Unfortunately, however, "certain services occupied the area," making it "impossible and useless" to carry out any reinforcement or restoration work. Structures and murals were gradually being destroyed. Years of petitions to all levels of government [instantsii] yielded no results, and the complex appeared doomed.

Now everything is changed: "While he was in Georgia we petitioned Politburo member Ye.K. Ligachev," who heeded their plea and immediately summoned a special commission from "the appropriate USSR ministry." This consultation resulted in positive decisions to carry out extensive reinforcement and restoration work. "From now on, nothing can threaten this magnificent complex."

The Main Administration for the Protection and Utilization of Historical and Cultural Monuments is working out a big program of projects, some of which are already underway.

6854/12232

Lack of Georgian-Language Maps Examined

18130402g [Editorial Report] Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 23 July 1987 carries on page 3 Levan Gvindzhilia's 1,100-word column "Language Is the Nation's Mother," a feature deriving in part from his own regular TV spot examining matters concerning Georgian language purity, the responsibility of officials and the media in upholding standards, and the need to ensure that Georgian is not omitted from public signs and advertising, instructions accompanying purchased household goods, and other aspects of language use in all endeavors.

In this installment (the first to appear in the newspaper since April), the author devotes a 400-word segment to the question of why no Georgian-language maps have been published in the past 10-15 years—not even maps of Georgian SSR, let alone of the USSR or the world. He contacted the Education Ministry with regard to school maps, and quotes a reply stating that certain maps are "in preparation" by the Vakhusti Geography Institute and are to be printed by the Cartography Factory. Some 15,000 maps of Georgia—in Russian—have been

printed in the past 5 years, and school maps in Georgian have been printed as supplements to history and geography texts. Other historical maps are "in process," with anticipated printings totalling 50,000.

The author ends this segment with a direct question to the Vakhushti Institute: Why was the publication of maps in Georgian stopped?

On 30 July, AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI carries on page 3 under the same title Levan Gvindzhilia's 1,400-word column containing a 400-word follow-up on the matter of Georgian-language maps. Tamaz Kiknadze, director of the Vakhushti Geography Institute, notes that the publication of school maps is not one of the Institute's functions. The Education Ministry is supposed to go through the Main Administration of Geodesy and Cartography (USSR Council of Ministers). The Vakhushti Institute has just prepared a Resort Atlas in Georgian and Russian, to be published in 1988. Plans also call for a Colchidian Atlas and a school atlas (not further specified) in the two languages. Starting next year, the Institute is to compile a two-volume "Georgian National Atlas" in Georgian and Russian. In reply, columnist Gvindzhilia acknowledges the worth of these projects but pointedly reiterates his original query: Why was the publication of maps in Georgian stopped?

6854/12232

Stalin Attacked in Writers Union Speech

18310409a[Editorial Report] Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri on 31 July 1987 carries on pages 1, 2, and 3 a 6,300-word speech by Anar, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Writers Union Ispolkom, headlined "In the Light of Glasnost" reviewing the history of the writers union and setting forth guidelines for the future. In the course of analyzing developments in the 1930's, he notes that "the sorrowful tragedy of millions of people, families, and whole peoples, and the spiritual deformation of others who stigmatized them by calling them peoples enemies—all this is connected with Stalin's name."

/06662

Play Refers To Divided Azerbaijan

18310409b[Editorial Report] Baku AZARBAYJAN in Azeri No 8, 1987 carries on pages 68-100 a 15,000-word play by Ilyas Afandiyev, "In the Crystal Palace," in which one of the characters refers to Azerbaijan's having been divided between two countries, Iran and Russia. The character, a refugee from Iranian Azerbaijan, discusses this separation: "The dividing one people who have a thousand years of culture and history into two parts and their longing for each other is such a tragedy that there is nothing to compare it with. All this was a crime of the accursed shahs such that centuries will pass before the horrible results of their crimes are completely eliminated."

/06662

Writers Union Secretariat Meets on Iranian Azerbaijan

18310409c[Editorial Report] Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri on 14 August 1987 carries on page 1 a 200-word note from the Azerbaijan Writers Union announcing that a meeting on "Southern Azerbaijan and the literary process" would be convened in October. "At this meeting reports on literature written in Southern Azerbaijan in 1986-1987, its ideational-aesthetics characteristics, and qualities of language and style will be heard." The note adds that "in the first half of November it was decided that a 'Southern Azeri poetry' evening would be held at the M. Magomayev Azerbaijan State Philharmonic."

/06662

Monograph Examines Kurdish Literature

18310409d[Editorial Report] Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri on 31 July 1987 carries on page 6 a 1,000-word article by Mirali Seyidov headlined "Literary Horizons" reviewing Knyaz Mirzayev's "Literary Horizons" (Yazychy, 1987) which "is devoted to the question of the formation and development of Kurdish literature." Noting that the history of Kurdish literature has been studied both in the USSR and abroad, he adds that "however, the establishment of Kurdish Soviet literature and its basic ideational-aesthetics qualities are analyzed for the first time in K. Mirzayev's monograph. Kurdish Soviet literature, which is a result of the Great October socialist revolution, is presented as a political and literary-artistic event in the monograph, and its special role in the fate of the Kurdish people is correctly evaluated."

/06662

Accusations of Antinationalist Prejudice Raised in Yakutsk

18000780 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jul 87
p 6

[Article by IZVESTIYA Special Correspondent O. Borodin: "An Image of Unfounded Resentment"]

[Text] Yakutsk — This situation might seem trivial, but only at first glance.

The collective at School No 27 in Yakutsk seemed impressive even though the school is situated on the outskirts of the city where there are no clubs, stadiums or movie theaters. It is a difficult area. The Yakutsk Scientific Research Institute for Tuberculosis (YaNIIT) is located next to the school and the teachers must conduct lessons for the weak children patients as an additional duty. The arrival at the school of the new director, Galina Innokentyevna Bashirova, went especially well. Thanks to her, the school building underwent major repair and was equipped with study areas. Soon they even began to conduct seminars for the republics teachers at School No 27. But for a long time there were not enough history teachers at the school. G.I. Bashirova was glad when Luiza Dmitrievna Sheveleva, a correspondence school graduate of Yakutsk State University, offered her services. True, she was leery of the fact that Sheveleva studied at the university for more than 10 years, but, after all, these things happen in life.

The new teacher began to conduct lessons in several classes, including the graduating class. Suddenly, the tenth grade class walked out. The students asked for a change of teachers since, in their opinion, Luiza Dmitrievna was completely ignorant of the subject.

Performance evaluations confirmed that Sheveleva had a weak knowledge of history and did not know how to establish contact with the class. Colleagues tried to help her, examining her work and discussing her mistakes in detail. They suggested that Sheveleva take a class at her discretion. She switched from the 10th grade to the 4th but it was clear that Luiza Dmitrievna was not ready for teaching. But what of it? None of us is guaranteed not to make mistakes when choosing a profession. But Sheveleva had her own idea about what had happened. She declared that the collective and the director disliked her because of her Yakut nationality.

Just who works in School No 27? People from 9 nationalities. The majority are Russians and Yakuts. Prior to Sheveleva's arrival, there had never been a problem like this here. The criteria for evaluating a teacher was always his attitude toward his work and the level of his professional and humane qualities.

Once an analogous situation developed here in connection with another teacher, G.P. Lavrentyeva, a correspondence school graduate of a local university. In contrast to Sheveleva, she worked at the school for 7

years but, under increased demands on all the school's workers, her professional shortcomings became all the more apparent. Here are several words for word comments made in various of Galina Petrovna's classes. Addressing the entire class, she might say, "Chapaev fought for the USSR...", either forgetting or not knowing that this hero of the Civil War died 3 years before the USSR was formed. Or take this passage: "Marxism has triumphed throughout the world so socialism is everywhere..."

Teacher Z.A. Taymanova relates that, "Galina Petrovna works in the class where I am class leader. She assigns marks out of thin air. Student Panteleevna was sick for the entire second quarter but she received a grade for the quarter. She didn't call on Vasileva once during the entire quarter, but Vasileva also received a quarterly grade.. The students ask me why but how do you answer them when, in addition to this, the teacher even gives grades for lessons which are not completed?"

A party gorkom committee, which, incidentally, was headed by a Yakut woman (this fact is important to this particular lawsuit) and in which the best teachers in the city took part, concluded that, "G.P. Lavrentyeva has not mastered the history program material and does not know the system for teaching the subject. Discussions with the student and their written work confirm that they are not learning the material. The committee recommends that the Oktyaberskiy Rayon Department of Public Education (RONO) examine the question of Lavrentyeva's suitability for her job."

Various departments began to get written complaints in support of Sheveleva and Lavrentyeva. The gist of all of them was the same: in School No 27, personnel are discriminated against because of nationality. Feverish activity began at the school and it was visited regularly by committees from RONO, the City Department of Public Education, the Yakutsk ASSR Ministry of Education, the raykom, gorkom, party obkom and the office of the procurator. And thus the school year went.

"There are 15 of us Yakuts in the school. Each of us has been summoned several times, individually, and asked, 'isn't it true that your director is an ardent chauvinist?'" says M.K. Gerasimova, secretary of the school's party organization and a teacher for 35 years. "I understand that if there is a complaint it must be resolved, but why is the collective's opinion on this matter ignored? The collective's decision was simple: all this is Sheveleva's and Lavrentyeva's fantasy. To hide their professional unsuitability, they are trying to drive a wedge of dissension between the people of various nationalities." The committee adopted a compromise resolution: "We note that Sheveleva and Lavrentyeva are wrong, but let them continue to work at the school." Because of this, the situation in the school has been tense for 2 years.

In the minutes of one of the teachers' trade union meetings I even found remarks such as these from teacher (Yakut) F.P. Yermeeva, "I feel humiliated when they summon me endlessly, evaluating and questioning whether I am being discriminated against because of my nationality. No, I tell them, we have an amicable collective. But Lavrentyeva and Sheveleva are inciting me to join them and 'rebel' against the director."

When I met with Luiza Dmitrievna Sheveleva, she asked me to be objective and gave me the name of a mathematics teacher, L. Romenskaya. Everyone says that she is truthful. Here is what Romenskaya had to say:

"My son studied under Luiza Dmitrievna. Once he came to see me after a lesson, disturbed that his teacher couldn't find the Crimea on the map."

"'They never gave me that map', Sheveleva told me, adding then that, 'I don't generally use maps.'"

Again and again I listen to my taped notes and become uncomfortable with how, during my meetings at the school, Sheveleva shouts at an elderly teacher and how she first acknowledges her guild and then suddenly denies it.

Here is another example: "My daughter was doing well but, after Sheveleva's arrival, she began to bring home grades of 4. Once she came home crying that, 'Luiza Dmitrievna gives me 4's because I am a Yakut. The Russian teachers won't let her give me 5's, that what she said.'" This is not the only example of how this teacher has tried to instill in the hearts of the children the poison of nationalist dissension.

A great deal is done at the school to teach the children to respect one another regardless of nationality. Although I must add that, not once did the teachers suddenly speak out against those who were trying to drive a wedge in the international union of the school's collective. I invited and urged them to think about this.

In general, was it worth it to bring this story to the pages of the newspaper? Is it worth it to present facts which jar not only the hearing but the soul? I think so. After all, those who were familiar with this story earlier adopted a compromise solution, trying to reconcile the irreconcilable: exactingness from personnel with universal forgiveness, education of the children with frank ignorance, and the struggle for a new way of doing things with half measures to achieve it.

Here is the viewpoint of I. Grigoryevna, Minister of Education for the Yakutsk ASSR.

"The conclusions of the Lavrentyeva committee? Nothing but emotions. The submission against Sheveleva? Unsubstantiated."

I submit this: "On 4 October 1986, at a teachers' conference and in the presence of teachers Kolosova and Kuzmina, Sheveleva caused a scandal by spitting in the face of teacher M. Danny. This fact was being investigated by the trade union committee, but Sheveleva rudely blurted out, 'I spit on you!' and left the meeting (statement from 14 October 1986)."

On 3 March 1987, Sheveleva insulted (uncensored swearing and threats) Astrakhantseva and Chikisheva.

On 26 December, Sheveleva did not show up for work.

On 3 January, she failed to show up a second time.

After complaints from parents of children in grades 4G, 7A, 4B and 5B, and inquiry about an evaluation of Sheveleva's educational and training work noted that, "the teacher generally does not know the program material and is not ready to teach or competently present the textbook material — not even to the 4th grade."

The minister says, "Let the judicial organs investigate these facts, but I am wary of the behavior of the school's collective. I was there at the meeting when we read the order on punishing the school's director, Bashirova. Every teacher who spoke out was against this punishment. Yes, Bashirova was punished for subjective evaluation of the results of teacher Lavrentyeva's work."

The minister was disturbed by the friendly rebuff from the teachers in reply to her ignoring their collective opinion. O.I. Alieva, one of the oldest teachers who took part in the Great Patriotic War, characterized the ministry's conclusions thusly: "When the opinion of the collective is ignored, the roots of democracy are being destroyed."

In the republic's Ministry of Education, the incident at school 27 was reduced to a matter of "personal relationships between the director, Bashirova, and two teachers." The conclusion from this was that there was no anti-teacher behavior on the part of the 2 teachers and generally nothing to the conversations about their professional unsuitability. And RONO, on advice of the ministry, is sending Lavrentyeva to work in the YaNIIT section of the school, but Sheveleva, dismissed by the administration of school 27, is being reinstated.

That is the simple way; the simpler way to satisfy both sides in this story. Only it doesn't work out after all.

But do we have to satisfy both sides? Must we try to reconcile the irreconcilable: the demand for a professional level teacher with general unsuitability for the work? Of course, the truth of this is not simple and that is where it is easier to hide behind the shield of demagoguery and play on the darkest of emotions. But this is a dangerous game. We already know where such games

lead us. And that is why I get angry at those who play such games and I am perplexed by attempts to pretend that nothing serious is happening and it is better to leave things as they were.

13254

'National Socialist' Youth Groups Reported in Leningrad

18300003 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA
in Russian 11 Jul 87 p 3

[Article by V. Koshvanets: "The Standartenfuehrer From Malaya Okhta: The Price of Errors in Upbringing Work With Teenagers"]

This 9 May my neighbor for the first time changed the ritual he had unfailingly observed on this day. Usually first thing in the morning he would set out for the Okhta Cemetery, where his parents, his younger brother and his wife, who had died in the siege, were buried. He was extremely fond of talking, but on this day he would not get into any conversations. He would walk around the yard stern and aloof, limping heavily on his left leg, wearing the medal "For Taking Berlin" on his chest, carrying a bouquet of snowdrops. He, who had been a mechanic and driver of a heavy tank, probably had other medals, as well, but on 9 May he would wear only that medal. We never saw him with any flowers besides the snowdrops. For everyone it remained a mystery where he, with a prosthesis, had gathered them, since they were no longer on sale anywhere.

My neighbor would not return from the cemetery until near evening. Afterwards, opening his window into the courtyard, he would play war songs on his bayan until late at night. Practically the entire building heard them, and no one once asked him to play more quietly.

But this 9 May my neighbor got ready first thing in the morning to go to the Kazan Cathedral, about which he informed the residents who were in the courtyard with rage in his voice. Instead of snowdrops, he had in his hands crutches that no one had ever seen before.

"A demonstration by fascists is going to be held there today," he said, narrowing his eyes as though he were looking through a tank sight. "So, so we'll rip up their throats with our teeth. Let them try us."

He slowed down, as though inviting those who were listening to come along, and he started walking around the courtyard, grave, gray, implacable.

Let me say right off that there was no sort of demonstration by "fascists," not even a hint of one, that day at the Kazan Cathedral. But the rumor that something was being planned had evidently reached more people than just my neighbor. In any event, a good many militantly-minded veterans gathered by the cathedral. From time to

time unorganized, guarded groups of military-school students would also appear there. Who were they preparing to rebuff, with whom were they getting ready to fight?

"ABSOLUTELY SECRET.

"To SD [Sicherheitsdienst] Chief R. Piskunov from SD Officer V. Kumpitskiy.

"CHARACTER REFERENCE on Valeriy Kursov.

"Joined the organization as a simple intelligence agent, soon made his way to the top of the organization. Became head of it. Clever, but not a very well developed point of view. Subject to bad influence. Physically unprepared."

"ABSOLUTELY SECRET.

"To SD Chief R. Piskunov from SD Officer V. Kumpitskiy.

"CHARACTER REFERENCE on Dmitriy Vdovin.

"Joined the organization as a soldier and soon became an officer; went no further. Physically almost undeveloped. Doesn't carry out party work, almost doesn't do any. Takes offence readily sometimes doesn't understand the point. Doesn't uphold discipline. Average intelligence."

Character references drawn up by Roman Piskunov, a student at Vocational-Technical School No. 34, on other members of the "National Socialist Organization," as they called themselves, were in the same spirit, with the same abundant assortment of mistakes.

So that is who my neighbor the tank driver was getting ready to "rip up with his teeth." Desperately ignorant young boys who had decided out of idleness to play at being the "blond rogues" from the film "Semnadsat mgnoveniy vesny" [Seventeen Moments of Spring]?

Indeed, I had never before encountered the sort of desperately distressing, downright pathological ignorance I encountered in looking into the activities of the "National Socialist" groups of this sort.

"I met Andrey while working as an outside watchman. He came up to me and Sergey Grigorovich and introduced himself. He said he held the rank of staff captain in the SD troops, that he had come to Leningrad from Moscow as the personal representative of Hess, the leader of the Russian National Socialist Workers' Party, and that he proposed to organize a group of trustworthy fellows who were ready to fight for the ideals of national socialism, truth and justice (not ruling out the use of terrorist methods).

"He brought Rem, the head of the Neo-Nazi Party in Leningrad, to a meeting with a group consisting of several guys I knew. Andrey immediately proposed giving us all ranks. I was given the rank of SS standarten-fuehrer.

"Andrey said further that he was 21 years old. That, in carrying out Hess's orders, he was traveling around the whole Soviet Union and had contacts with a Western special service, which would supply us with weapons and uniforms and, eventually, military vehicles.

"Then Andrey informed us that on 7 November Hess would come to Leningrad in order to meet with me personally. Speaking of Hess, he informed us that he had seven Mirage aircraft and a large number of people under arms, and that they would soon be getting a new type of self-propelled weapons (from Sierra Leone). Hess, Andrey told me, intended to send me to a summer school (for a year and a half of instruction) to train as a Mirage crew commander. He said more specifically that each airplane (with a four-man crew) had four strategic missiles on it, but the warheads were stored separately. The system of pilot training was disguised under the Voluntary Society for Cooperation With the Armed Forces.

"I was supposed to go to summer school in March 1987, after graduating from vocational-technical school. It was planned to train the other members of our group to operate self-propelled weapons and vehicles. Hess planned to use all the forces at his disposal to stage a military coup aimed at seizing power.

"Andrey based his speeches on Hitler's policies and the philosophy of Nietzsche and used no literature."

This explanation was given to militia agencies by Vladislav Malanskiy, a student at Vocational-Technical School No. 24, in connection with acts of hooliganism committed by a group he had organized.

Here one immediately is confused as to what one should be most surprised at—the seriousness with which this wild explanation is written, or the flagrant ignorance of its author. What sort of intelligence, to use the terminology of Vyacheslav Kumpitskiy, does it take to believe even for a moment in the fables of the rogue and rascal Andrey, who, before moving on to another city, ate for free at the expense of the group set up by Vladislav Malanskiy and, excuse me, slept with young girls who wanted to join the "National Socialist Party."

What is frightening is that people believed and raised toasts to "Hess's personal representative," to the leader of the "Neo-Nazi Party" in Leningrad—the unemployed Roman Boytsov (Rem)—and to the Mirage aircraft and self-propelled weapons from Sierra Leone.

I have before me a batch of photographs taken by a member of the group during one such celebration. They show smart-looking boys with forelocks combed at a slant, wearing swastikas on the sleeves of their school uniforms, which have been remade into military uniforms, and black ties adorned with the skull and crossbones. Plump, blonde girls are smiling at them.

In one of these photographs these same boys are "torturing" one of their drinking buddies, who is dressed in a militia uniform.

Even if one allows, as Vladislav Malanskiy and the members of his group explained to the militia, that all this amounts to games born of thoughtlessness, these are still blasphemous games. And no ignorance and lack of knowledge, no thoughtlessness can justify them. Moreover, how could a person living in our country and our city not realize, not understand, what fascism is? There can only be one name for such games—betrayal! Betrayal of our party, our pride, our tears and the things that are sacred to us. It is betrayal 100 times over if you consider that many participants in such "games" are Komsomol members. It is hard to imagine a greater sacrilege than a Komsomol member and Soviet young person with a fascist, cannibalistic nickname wearing a swastika.

However, the business, as a rule, is not limited to this. Even a mindless attraction to fascist paraphernalia and symbols and to the cult of violence and contempt for human beings the fascists proclaim inevitably results in various unlawful actions and cruelty. Remember the foolish character references, utterly lacking in common sense, regarding the members of Roman Pisunov's group. But at the same time they were being composed this group was drawing swastikas on building walls and cars and putting up chauvinistic leaflets calling for a revival of Nazism. Other groups of fascist teenagers would seize lone passersby at night in deserted areas of Kirovskiy Rayon and Malaya Okhta and force them to kneel and shout "Heil Hitler!" and to kiss the hands of their "oberfuehrers and standartenfuehrers."

There have also been more frightening incidents. Not long ago in the vicinity of Ulyanka, one such group dragged a 40-year-old man into a vacant house and tortured him there with an electric heating device. When the man lost consciousness, they poured water on him and continued to torture him, rubbing salt into his wounds. It's a miracle that the man survived.

These are no longer "games" but criminal deeds and an open challenge to all the political, social, moral and human foundations of Soviet society, which are so incompatible with any sort of manifestations of a pro-fascist sort that our laws do not even provide for combating them. And honestly speaking, if such an article did appear in our laws, we would probably perceive it as offensive to us; as some sort of fantastically invented attempt to ascribe to some of our fellow citizens that which simply could not be.

But it does exist, however isolated the cases and groups in question may be. And we have no right to close our eyes to it, regardless of whether some young people, even one person, don the fascist mask knowingly or out of thoughtlessness.

What moves them to do so? The question is precisely "what?" since there is, of course, no sort of organized "brown-shirt movement" with its leaders and recruits in our city or in the country as a whole. The teenagers themselves with whom I have spoken from the so-called "national socialist" groups give stereotyped answers to this question. They say that everything around them is boring and that "involvement in national socialist work" and the mimicking of fascist symbolism and trappings lend a certain element of risk and mystery to their lives. And they would, in general, prefer not to be sitting at a classroom desk but to be waging war somewhere on another continent—on whose side, they don't care.

Unfortunately, certain adults have developed approximately the same stereotyped notion of the reasons for the appearance of such groups. Some people even go so far as to say that it's all the fault of frequent reruns of the series "Semnadsat mgnoveniy vesny" and similar films. They claim that every teenager always has a longing for a strong personality, and that is just the sort of people these films present to them, in the characters not only of the Soviet intelligence agent but also of the SS officers. Everything is collapsing around them, but they, no matter what, are cool, sharp and utterly contemptuous of death. And so the youngsters start to follow a "cult of the black uniforms," without the slightest thought as to what they are doing.

Others see all this as nothing but intrigues on the part of Western propaganda. And still others, on hearing of the fascist teenagers, categorically diagnose them as "beasts," thereby immediately ending any discussion of the topic.

Let me say right away: after having become acquainted with such teenagers, their views, interests and needs, I will not discount even the last explanation. Yes, unfortunately, there are scum capable of drawing the wildest conclusions from watching the finest film.

Nonetheless, it would be wrong to be satisfied with these explanations alone. In the first place, because they all in one way or another relieve us adults of all responsibility for these teenagers. And in the second place, because the main reason for the emergence of fascist youth groups in our society, in my opinion, nonetheless lies elsewhere.

It lies in extremely serious general errors that have been made in the political, civic, moral, patriotic and internationalist upbringing of young people, starting with errors made by the family and ending with those made by the schools, the vocational-technical schools, the higher schools and the Komsomol. Formalism, hypocrisy, window-dressing and spiritual emptiness in this work

have given rise to more than a preoccupation with material things, dependency, social passivity and other negative phenomena among young people. Manifestations of a fascist nature among teenagers, and sometimes even among older youth, should be viewed as a kind of recurrence of these errors, especially in the area of individual upbringing.

But what prompts them to this? I shall not attempt to judge everything. Most likely, that will be better done by sociologists who—alas!—have seemingly failed to notice the fascist teenagers. I shall only speak of what makes me start to reflect, a concrete analysis of the facts I have encountered.

Let us recall how unanimously all the home-grown "national socialists" insisted to me: "We're bored!" Let us not start angrily stamping our feet because it is scum who are talking about this. After all, thousands of fine boys are also bored today.

They are bored at home, because they are almost not noticed at all by their parents, who are preoccupied with themselves and their additional purchases. And if they do notice, it is by no means in order to have a talk with their son about a topic that disturbs him and that he does not understand very well.

They are bored because virtually from kindergarten on they are brought up on the same fine but "storybook" heroes on whom their fathers and grandfathers were reared. And today's youngsters cannot always understand the feelings, thoughts, joys, sufferings and deeds of those heroes. After all, at their age even the past war, not to mention the Civil War, was as long ago as, say, the war of 1812 was for us adults.

Young people need a contemporary hero, someone who lives alongside them and has studied at the same schools they have. But as painful as it may be to recognize it, we adults have failed to make them look up to even the true heroes of our times, the heroes of all times and peoples—our cosmonauts. We have somehow made them excessively mundane, made them routine, and Valeriy Chkalov and the other conquerers of the fifth ocean have not become for today's boys what they were for the boys their age during the '30s. We have failed to find the right words and figures of expression to set youngsters' eyes aglow when they hear or read stories of the young soldiers who are religiously performing their internationalist duty in Afghanistan. We continue to rely on words and figures of expression that were found and chosen sometime long ago. And the sad result of this is to be found in the jokes about that same Vasiliy Ivanovich Chapayev that youngsters enthusiastically tell each other.

Boys who thirst for mystery and risk find it boring in the games of "Summer Lightning," which are overorganized to the point of absurdity, in which every teenager has two adults standing by his side "just to make sure."

"Be like everyone!" we keep repeating to boys, brushing aside their desires and aspirations to be unique and original as though they were annoying flies.

And this is the soil, mixed with boredom and stereotypes, on which more arises than just the passivity of young people that so distresses us. This is the nutrient medium that allows an ideology that is alien to us to penetrate the minds of our most unstable, ignorant and morally undeveloped teenagers.

So what should we do? Wait until the soil changes, the system of upbringing of young people improves, and the seeds that are exposed to the influence of a chance film or purposeful bourgeois propaganda cease on their own accord to sprout? Of course not. While working to eliminate the cause, we must no less resolutely work to eliminate its effects, and to eradicate any manifestations of a fascist nature among young people and nip them in the bud as sacrilegious to our society and our people.

And for a start, we adults need to step up our elementary vigilance and stop being indifferent toward manifestations of this sort, which is very often the case nowadays.

Every year hundreds of us calmly pass by teenagers who are searching at battle sites for weapons and Soviet military insignia, and now fascist insignia as well. And as a result, some youngsters die and are maimed because of the careless handling of munitions, and some of them pin the fascist cross on themselves.

And how many of us recently passed by without noticing anything the people on duty at the teenagers' Spark Club, who had put on homemade armbands with a swastika on them? Here is one of them in front of me, one of those armbands decorated with colored needles, a sign of our scandalous carelessness. I am not even speaking about that club's staff executives and upbringing personnel, whose "blindness" is simply criminal.

And is it possible that such a thing can be understood, can be explained? One of the photographs taken of the members of Vladislav Malanskiy's group dressed up in fascist uniforms includes Malanskiy's adoptive father Ivan Vitalyevich, who was working in the outside guard department of the Zhdanovskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Administration. And Malanskiy's mother Alisa Rudolfovna Grintel, a laboratory assistant at the Botanical Institute, also knew about what her son was doing.

And have the pedagogical councils of the aforementioned vocational-technical schools, schools and technicals, and those that have not been mentioned here, met even once? And has there been even a single Komsomol meeting to analyze the emergency situations that occurred? There have been no such meetings there. And the staff upbringing personnel and deputy directors for political affairs have not heard or seen a thing.

And do the film "Obyknovennyy fashizm" [Ordinary Fascism] and other films disclosing the true, bestial essence of national socialism play often at our city's movie theaters, except, perhaps, the tiny Znaniye [Knowledge] Theater? You simply cannot find such a movie theater today.

One could ask a good many other such questions. And the answer to almost all of them would be negative.

And that is where everything begins. With our general indifference, with our adult—do not take offense—thoughtlessness. If it were not for this, I am convinced, my neighbor the front-line veteran would not have had to grab up his crutches in rage after learning that somewhere near him a standartenfuhrer (!) was walking about Malaya Okhta at night.

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Georgian Opinion Center, Media Lauded For Glasnost

18300635 Moscow OGONEK
in Russian No 28 Jul 87 p 12

[Article by Inga Aglitskaya: "Tell Us, We're Interested"]

[Text] On the tram one morning I heard one young lady, about 18 years old, laughingly tell another: "And this person tells him to pay back his debt, that he must bring him 3000 rubles. And, can you imagine, this fool, instead of getting it from his parents, says 'let's play again!'"

I knew what this story was about — and it wasn't funny. The evening before, on the Second All-Union Program, Central Television had shown the film "The Spot" ("Pyatno") by the young Georgian script writer and director, Aleksandr Tsabadze. The complicated film is "brutal", as the weekly *Govorit i Pokazyvaet Moskva* had cautioned us and as the dramatist Mikhail Roshchin and the film critic Andrey Plakhov explained to one another in a discussion following the film. Evidently, they wanted to make us feel better, in case we had missed something. But the young lady from the tram, obviously had turned off her television set right after the film and had herself remained without any explanation. And does this not raise an interesting question? Of course, many of us were unprepared for such a film. And this is not our personal, but rather our collective fault, a sure product of very serious mistakes of the not-distant past. But is it really not important to know more precisely to what degree and specifically how we were unprepared, in order to correctly assess acceleration here, in the moral area?

This is why when, a year ago, on 14 May, Georgian television showed "The Spot", workers of the Georgian CP Central Committee Center for Public Opinion, the evening before, phoned 230 families in Tbilisi (a random sampling based on the telephone book) and asked permission to telephone them immediately after the end of

the film. The sociologists were interested in people's first impressions, before discussion within the family or at work, in opinions that had not been distorted by an exchange of views, which had not been influenced by others.

On 28 November 1986, the same kind of "hot" survey was made of every 500th family with a telephone in Tbilisi regarding the film "Repentance" ("Pokayaniye") after it had been shown on television. The results were processed the same night at the Center. The brief conclusions were that all those questioned considered the film to be political, that 89.4 percent liked the film, 6.3 percent did not like it, and 4.2 percent remained undecided; a considerable part of the television viewers did not want to become involved in a detailed discussion, having somehow been "emotionally stunned" and, for all practical purposes, having withdrawn within themselves. The Georgian CP Central Committee Center for Public Opinion has, in fact, been in operation since 1975.

"But," explained its director, the chief of the Central Committee Propaganda Department, Nugzar Akakiyevich Polkhadze, "we started out as if we were seniors school right out of "school", out of the "VUZ," but finally, thanks to the efforts of N. I. Betaneli, who is presently dean of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences, E. S. Menabdishvili, D.A. Karaulashvili, B. I. Tsertsvadze, and others, the past year has been a "post graduate course" for the Center.

How does the Center operate? On this score, I can say that it is immediately apparent that this is a very busy place. During the past year, 52 studies were completed (that is, an average of one per week). There is, so to say, a strategic line of planned studies but it also carries out Central Committee assignments requiring quick reaction. Sometimes a "super-fast reaction" is needed. For example, they once conducted a public opinion study relating to problems of state acceptance at two enterprises in a single day. This was not "pro forma" hack work. A comprehensive, scientifically-based report was laid on the meeting table of the Central Committee's Coordination Council for Improving the Economic Mechanism. And such is possible only thanks to firm contacts with sociologists in the plants and with the Central Statistical Administration, to continuous work by the computer center, and to harmonious operation of all services. And this system is harmonious because it is constantly at work, because it is never caught unawares.

For the Center's workers, feedback to the subjects of studies is something that goes without saying; the initial report of the results of a study is sent to the plant, to the school, to the theater which took part in this study. And no matter how tempting it may be to work with one and the same enterprise, where contacts have already been established and where people are accustomed to answering questions, it is necessary to change subjects, so as not to irritate people — this is a rule.

The Center directs its most intense attention toward "sore spots". For example, toward the same state acceptance. It is clear that, today, this is a necessary injection of the new. But how does a living organism — the labor collective — react to it? It is necessary to keep a finger on the pulse in this regard. And thus, public opinion surveys on the question of state acceptance have been carried out four times in the last four and a half months.

Data from these studies have posed questions to the republic's leadership, questions which demand very serious analysis and highly qualified conclusions. For example, why are some labor collectives, which are successfully carrying out their assignments, manifesting uncertainty and doubt, while other enterprises, where the situation is difficult and where not more than 10 percent of monthly production is being accepted, are today "suddenly" manifesting the highest level of contentment? Is this not be associated with a decline in demands which are being made within the collective and with a conviction on the part of some of the workers that it is possible to go on living in the old way under the new conditions?

State acceptance has clearly surfaced sore spots in modern production. In the opinion of workers and engineering and technical personnel, the principle factors preventing their collectives from successfully organizing their work under the new conditions include the following:

- inadequate technology at enterprises — 61 percent;
- poor contract discipline on the part of suppliers — 37 percent;
- deficiencies in the wage system — 27 percent;
- a low level of labor organization — 26.7 percent;
- low personnel qualifications — 19.3 percent;
- inadequate labor discipline — 19.3 percent;
- a lack of conscientiousness on the part of workers and employees — 18 percent;
- a lack of conditions for developing innovative spirit and creative work — 9.5 percent.

At the time I was studying these materials, a group of Armenian sociologists was acquainting itself with the work of the Center. They had come for experience in preparation for creating the same kind of organ as a part of the Armenian CP Central Committee and they were already planning joint studies with their Georgian colleagues. Like myself, they were struck by the fact that the Center responds not only to all the important social and political events in the country and in the republic, but also to serious problems which are a cause of popular concern.

Incidentally, the most comprehensive study undertaken by the Center for Public Opinion was its "Dialogue with the Georgian CP Central Committee" in the fall of 1986. This study took all the population's social and demographic groups as the basis of its measurements. A

questionnaire survey (in essence, an informal referendum) showed that workers (50.6 percent) and the intelligentsia (44.4 percent) were most highly satisfied with the activities of the Central Committee. The young people who participated were the most critical (29.7 percent expressed satisfaction). For reasons of being inadequately informed, 28.5 percent were unable to evaluate the activity of the Central Committee, 43.8 percent — the activity of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, and 45.1 percent — the activity of the Council of Ministers. If responses like these are received, this means that appropriate questions are being asked. It indicates that the Georgian CP Central Committee is making a serious effort to implement Leninist principles.

The question "What is most important for you at the present time?" showed that the following values stand foremost in the social psychology of the population:

- support of law and order — 66 percent;
- achieving a higher standard of living for everyone — 62 percent;
- glasnost, candor, and further democratization of social life — 41.6 percent;
- greater popular participation in making important political decisions, further development of self-administration — 13.9 percent.

A tradition has been established within the republic of organizing meetings, press conferences, and informal referendums involving all the mass information media. Popular "television assemblies" regarding questions of concern to the people have already been held about 20 times. A total of 15,000 persons took part in one of them, including people who sent in letters, who called the studio, who had a function in reporting, and who responded to questions during interviews. The GeSSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting traditionally prepares the television series "Gallery of Bureaucrats", which has run for many years, together with the GeSSR Committee of People's Control. The "Dialogue" studio broadcasts the results of public opinion studies and discusses effective ways and means of overcoming shortcomings with the public. Ministers, party and soviet workers, and persons active in science and the arts participate in this work — people who bear direct responsibility for the state of affairs in one or another sphere. Frequent televised meetings are held with the State Committee for the Agro-Industrial Complex, in which its directors answer the questions of television viewers.

The rubrics "A Question Must Not Go Unanswered" and "Public Opinion: Facts, Judgment, and Repercussions" have long been established in such GeSSR papers as *Komunisti*, *Zarya Vostoka*, and others.

Open discussion of drug addiction began on Georgian television in 1979. Joint actions by television and the GeSSR Ministry of Internal Affairs have become a tradition. When, in 1983, criminals seized a civil airliner

with the aim of hijacking it, the republic's party leadership made the decision to report this on television. The people learned about the recent railroad catastrophe from an address by the republic's procurator the same evening it happened. Where there is openness, rumors and gossip sharply drop in value, as they justifiably conclude within the propaganda organs, and those rumors which continue to disturb the population are best discussed openly. Therefore, the show "The Earth is Filled with Rumors" has appeared on TV and the rubric "Rumors and Reality" has appeared in one of the newspapers. Directors in various spheres are being asked hard questions in the television series "Topical Interview". "TV Days" are being held at enterprises. Incidentally, the chief of the Central Committee propaganda department, N. A. Popkhadze once told a foreign journalist, who was visiting Georgia, about these "TV Days". He grew interested and Popkhadze invited him to attend such an event that same day at a large plant in the city of Rustavi. They arrived at the plant where 400 people were taking part in a discussion of television shows and where, of course, nobody expected foreign guests. And he could in no way believe that this open discussion was, in fact, taking place.

"And the newspaper and television materials which are published on the basis of data from our research has always impressed the readers and viewers by its boldness," says Nugzar Akakiyevich Popkhadze. "Today, boldness has ceased to be something unique, and this is good. But, for the journalists, it must not be turned into the pursuit of a "cooked" fact. It must be based on a deep analysis of reliable data. Then openness will become a true basis of restructuring.

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Militiaman Reinstated After Court Ruling Overturned

PM271009 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Nov 87 Second Editio

[Own correspondent M. Mikhalkov report under the rubric "Followup To Earlier Item": "Punishment... Though the Charge Is Not Proven"]

[Text] Chechen-Ingush ASSR—READERS will probably recall that the report under the above headline related how investigations and court hearings were conducted for 3 years into charges that Z. Daskiyev, deputy political officer in the Chechen-Ingush ASSR's Nazranovskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department, exceeded his authority. By a decision of the Sunzhenskiy Rayon People's Court dated 8 January 1987, Z. Daskiyev was sentenced to dismissal from his post. The autonomous republic Supreme Court's Judicial Collegium for Criminal Cases ruled that the sentence be left unchanged and the Nazranovskiy CPSU Raykom expelled the deputy political officer from the party.

The report indicated that neither the rayon court nor the Supreme Court Judicial Collegium, where Z. Daskiyev lodged his appeal, made any attempts to carry out a profound and comprehensive investigation of the incident and did not notice the biased nature of the actions of the rayon and republic prosecutor's offices, where personal interests were pursued under cover of objectivity and principledness.

Even before the publication of the piece the RSFSR deputy prosecutor had protested the judicial authorities' decision, demanding that the judgment be set aside and the case be stopped in connection with the absence of corpus delicti in the deputy political officer's actions. However, bureaucratic ambitions and a false interpretation of "official status" prevented Chechen-ingush ASSR Supreme Court personnel from looking at the whole chain of events honestly and impartially and discovering the links between them. So far as they were concerned a man's fate was something impersonal and not requiring protection against social injustice. The RSFSR deputy prosecutor's protest was not met by the Chechen-ingush ASSR Supreme Court Presidium. After this SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA came to Z. Daskiyev's defense.

The case was examined by the RSFSR Supreme Court Judicial Collegium for Criminal Cases under the chairmanship of A. Perepegonov. It repealed the verdict of the Sunzhenskiy Rayon People's Court. However, we, and probably the readers too, would like to hear, however briefly, the reasons for this decision. During the initial hearings substantial contradictions emerged in the evidence. But the judges pretended not to notice them, as if pursuing a single goal—to prove the correctness of the charge. Witnesses were brought into the case who had not set eyes on Z. Daskiyev either during the ill-starred event itself or prior to it. In the course of the investigation procedures such as identification of the defendant by the injured party were violated. The investigation essentially ignored the testimonies of witnesses who proved that Daskiyev could not possibly have been in the place in question at the time in question.

The RSFSR Supreme Court ruling particularly noted that the court of original jurisdiction did not fulfill the demands of Articles 20, 71, and 314 of the RSFSR Code

of Criminal Procedure and, despite these facts, the appeal court and supervisory courts left the verdict unchanged, so the protest had rightly raised the question of repealing it.

How did events develop thereafter? A 22 October judgment of the Nazranovskiy CPSU Raykom Bureau reinstated Z. Daskiyev in the party. A. Eshtiyev, chief of the Chechen-ingush ASSR MVD Political Directorate, announced that the autonomous republic's minister of internal affairs had reinstated Z. Daskiyev in his former post as Nazranovskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department deputy political officer by a 16 November decision.

And although, as they say, justice has triumphed—the deputy political officer has donned his officer's uniform and begun performing his official duties—we think that it is too early to wrap up this story. Why?

More than 2 months have elapsed since the Sunzhenskiy Rayon People's Court decision was reversed by the RSFSR Supreme Court. And nearly 5 months have elapsed since SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA'S publication of the report. However, the Chechen-ingush ASSR Prosecutor's Office, whose personnel were unambiguously accused of a premeditated reprisal against the militia political worker, has not replied to the editorial board. Whether a judicial investigation has been held, what it managed to ascertain, and what measures have been taken to punish the guilty parties—Chechen-ingush ASSR Prosecutor A. Rostov ought to have given an exhaustive answer to all these questions.

The editorial office hoped that this by no means run-of-the-mill case would also provoke the correct official interest in the RSFSR Prosecutor's Office. The fact that the RSFSR deputy prosecutor appealed the decision of the people's court, whose investigative material was collected by workers from subordinate prosecutor's offices, meant that not everything was fine in the house of the local guardians of legality. Therefore the appropriate steps to normalize the situation should have been taken. Something may even have been done. But neither the newspaper's editorial office nor our readers know anything about this.

Uzbek, National Writers Discuss Aral Sea Problem]

18360155 Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN'ATI in Uzbek 10 Apr 87 p 2

[Article containing comments by various authors: "The Fate of the Aral Is Our Fate"]

[Text] Sergey Zaligin (Moscow), laureate of the USSR State Prize and chief editor of NOVIY MIR journal: In general, we need thought, thought, and more through in order to save the Aral Sea. What sort of measures should be taken in this regard? Perhaps these measures should be based on the proposals of the Committee to Save the Aral Sea and Irrigated Farming in Central Asia headed by Comrade P. Shermuhamedov.

Gigoriy Baklanov (Moscow), laureate of the USSR State Prize and chief editor of ZNAMYA journal: It is completely impossible to let the Aral Sea disappear! It is absolutely necessary to save it. But we must not forget this truth: the Aral Sea must be preserved by economizing on the water consumed by irrigation, not by diverting Northern or Siberian River water. The water consumed by irrigation must be used economically and efficiently without wasting a single drop.

Maksim Tank (Minsk), People's Poet of the Belorussian SSR, laureate of the Lenin Prize, Hero of Socialist Labor, deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet, chairman of the Board of the Belorussian SSR Union of Writers: The news coming from the Baikal, Caspian, Dneiper, Polesye, Dvina and Aral grows more alarming.

Despite environmental protection decisions adopted by the party and government and the increasing discontent of the public at large, this sad process still continues. More correctly, an attitude that causes the senseless waste of nature's riches and the pollution of soil, rivers, and lakes, that leads to ecological consequences which are difficult to correct, and that devastates everything, continues unabated.

We are a big-hearted people with many emotions and no reason to cancel anything. We can say without the slightest doubt that the fate of the African jungle and the Amazon rain forest, as well as the fate of numerous architectural monuments in the world, alarm one and all. For example, plans are being drawn up and dissertations written on ways to save the famous Tower of Pisa.

Even now, before our very eyes, the vast Aral Sea—the second largest dry land water basin from the viewpoint of size—is perishing. But, unfortunately, we have not been extending a hand to save it. Forceful, immediate steps must be taken to save the Aral Sea. It must be said openly that the measures we have taken and are taking are unsatisfactory. There is no doubt that the protection of nature must become a public-wide task. Otherwise, all our decisions will remain merely good wishes. I want to say that we must place the protection of nature under

public supervision and fully apply the principle of openness to this problem. It should be impossible to cut down a tree in a city or village without the consent of the people who live there. This rule really must be implemented in the rayon, the republic, and throughout the country.

Although there is a great distance between Belorussia and the Aral Sea, we and the entire Soviet people are not indifferent to the Aral's fate.

Everyone has ten fingers on his two hands. And if one of those ten fingers is injured this pangs the heart. There is a symbolic resemblance between an injured finger and the fate of the Aral. The Aral's concern is our concern, the Aral's injury is our injury.

The suffering, concerns, and hopes of the great Aral which are sung about in legends, stories, and epics, and in the songs of bards, epic-singers, and poets, make our heart tremble.

Abdujamil Nurpeisov (Alma-Ata), laureate of the USSR State Prize: Formerly, there were few who thought about the fate of the Aral. Now, there are many occupied with this problem. Saving the Aral is becoming a state-wide task. That means the sound of danger has been heard. As regards the question of which specific measures to take, perhaps that is not part of the writer's task. But I hope to keep my ears open not only to the narrowly scientific data of specialists, but also to public opinion.

A group of experts on soil science and amelioration from the USSR Academy of Sciences has defined the general situation in and along the Aral and demanded an immediate solution to the ecological problem. I wish to draw attention to a spiritual problem in addition to this. Every problem which does not hinder social interests is spiritual. Social interests demand saving the Aral and [satisfying] the need for water. When examined, in my view, none of the plans to save the Aral is flawless. The problem is extremely complex and a one-sided approach to it can lead to new unwanted consequences. Doubtlessly, the problem requires a comprehensive approach. In view of the ecological situation that has arisen in the world, not only we, but all mankind must master as though they were sacred knowledge the laws of balance. In our days, the level of a person's internal culture and humanism is indicated, regardless of all his other qualities, by the presence of an ecological conscience. We have built canals, reservoirs, and irrigation systems, and have given a powerful impetus to the development of not only the economy of Central Asian republics, but generally to our economy. I am not calling for a halt to this impetus or for turning back. But the time has come for us to think about whether we have recompensated mother nature for all of these things. Clearly, we must return a little of the generous loans nature has made to us!

Ales Adamovich (Minsk), People's Writer of the Belorussian SSR: I think that only when Valentin Rasputin says "My Aral," Temur Polatov "My Baikal," and Grant Matevosyan or Ion Drutse "My Polesye," that is, only when we thoroughly understand that we cannot save the North without saving the South, nor Siberia without the West, that all of us are one, and all of these are ours, will it be possible to preserve the mother nature that nurtures us.

Erkin Yusupov, vice president of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences: An alarming ecological phenomena is occurring before our eyes. In the lifetime of one generation one of the largest water basins of the country is disappearing. As a result of this a new desert, distinguished by its salinity and poverty of plant life, is forming between the Karakum and Kyzylkum Deserts. Twenty years ago, 175,000 hectares of beautiful foliage grew along the shores of the Aral. Now, it occupies barely 22,000 hectares.

Nearly 800,000 hectares of reed stands have disappeared due to the drying up of the sea and the decay of the river delta.

Now, there are eight or nine sand and dust storms each year that stretch 500 kilometers long and several dozen kilometers wide along the Aral. The sand and dust moving north forms 50 million tons annually. Such sharply increasing sand and dust storms endanger both agriculture and animal husbandry.

Central Asian and Kazakh specialists, on assignment from the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, are conducting broadscale scientific and planning work. Since 1976 over 30 scientific research and planning organizations have been drawn to this task. Unfortunately, the numerous recommendations and measures they have produced lie unacted upon. In particular, in 1982 it was necessary to design and start building special collectors for diverting toward the Aral Sea runoff waters from Khorezm and Tashavuz Oblasts and the territory of the Karakalpak ASSR. Seven years ago, the Uzgiprovodkhoz Design Institute produced several plan variants for diverting the collector and drainage water from our region to the Aral Sea. However, because the USSR Ministry of Water Resources did not greet the plans warmly, work stopped altogether. But with a positive solution of the problem it would be possible to prevent numerous problems and unwelcome situations connected with the drying up of the Aral.

One should state that, based on the opinion of specialists, it would be difficult to restore the former status of the Aral under present conditions. But it is possible to maintain it at a certain level by diverting to the sea the collector, drainage, and runoff waters in the Amudarya and Syrdarya basin. Besides that, there is the possibility of building a canal between the Northern Caspian and the Aral Sea. At the present time, the level of the Caspian is rising a little.

Finally, it must be said that the shore of the Aral served as one of the greatest centers of civilization in the East. Here are located precious and irreplaceable monuments like Khiva, Kohna Urgench, and Khazorasp, as well as numerous classical and medieval monuments like Tuprakkala, Kirkkiz, and Yanbashkala. Here it is a case of preserving the wealth created by the hands of the Soviet people and the material and spiritual wealth created over thousands of years.

Ulmas Umarbekov, chairman of the Board of the Uzbek SSR Union of Writers: The Aral problem is actually a life-and-death problem for our region. Taking this into consideration, we formed under the Writers Union on Aral Committee. Its goal is to draw public attention, and primarily the attention of scholars and specialists, to the problem of saving the Aral. Through the initiative of this committee the opinions of renowned authors of the Russian and fraternal peoples are being published in today's edition of our newspaper—this is a serious step on the path.

Preserving mother nature and saving the Aral, which is considered an integral part of it, is a public- and state-wide task, and no one should stand aside from this glorious task. In short, the fate of the Aral is our fate.

Sarvar Azimov, People's Writer of the Uzbek SSR: Our revered Ilich was a man who knew beauty and understood the language of nature. The genius signed over one hundred documents in his lifetime relating to the protection of the natural world. I might even recall, although it is known to all, that the initiative which bestowed life on the Hungry Steppe is connected with this person's esteemed name, the constructive will of the revolution, and the creative, that is to say, the vital thinking of socialism.

The Khorezm Valley is world-famous as the cradle of the ancient civilization of Mavaraunnahr, which is in the distant interior of Eurasia and considered the continent's "dead end." One of the great erudites of the Middle Ages, Abu Rayham Beruni, creator of the work "History of Khorezm," wrote the words you can never forget: "Kutayba (an Arab military commander Kutayba Ibn Muslim—S.A.) persecuted and killed as far as possible everyone who knew the writings of the Khorezmians and who preserved their legends, as well as all scholars among them. As a result, the past of the Khorezmians became so shrouded in darkness that we do not have accurate knowledge of the events in their history which they knew at the time Islam reached here."

The Uzbeks, Turkmen, Karakalpaks, Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Tajiks suffered equally the tribulations wrought by the murderous invaders. They did not kneel before the Mongol barbarians or any of the conquerors who oppressed and ravaged the country. Courage vanquished [them]. It was with this that the working people, who created the song "Ducks Swim in My Tears," would live, so that the shield of liberty would be unvanquished and

the vessel of creativity would not cease to boil. According to Professor S. P. Tolstov, who opened the eyes of the history of the ancient civilization of Central Asian peoples, the general area of land irrigated by the Amudarya and Syrdarya in that period consisted of approximately 4.5 million hectares. The Chinese learned how to sow alfalfa from the farmers of the Khorezm Valley and how to make paper from the masters in Samarkand City beside the Zarafshan River.

Look at him! Should you weave a helmsman like Nor-tuya into the fabric of truth from the roots of history and science? Yes, you should. The shores of the Aral and the banks of the rivers are the homeland of a people caloused of hand, blunt of speech, vigorous of eye, energetic as the waves of the emerald sea, vibrant as a lyre's sound. These banks are crowded with the various nationalities mentioned previously. This was the resting place where workers, fishermen, shipbuilders, blacksmiths, farmers, shepherds, bards and writers lived face to face like elms, thinking (Here) I can look around" even though it was "the bygone days," a times when the dominant sound was of the poor with their arms weary and backs bent ("taxes were taken in fish").

We think of the second half of the 19th century as a period of glorious historical changes: a new page opened between Russia and Central Asia, relations between peoples and cultural and literary ties found a welcome development, pearls of the revolutionary struggle passed from hand to heart, Asia awoke behind the exemplary deeds of the Russian proletariat, the dawn of the democratic revolution was rising, a dawn as pure white as an almond.... The shores of the Aral were a living witness and sympathetic participant in those events. The people of the Aral were friendly to the political exiles banished by the Tsar and shared the sea's bounty with the strapping Cossacks drive out "among the sand dunes beyond your salt sea not to return" because of their participation in the Yemelyan Pugachev Rebellion. A number of the lads who went to sea were companions with Russian sons. The "Pugachev youths" gave up their lives to be given a place. A child of their children, the fisherman Stepan Ignatyevich Budkov, in the true story "The Dying Sea" (1965) by Anatoliy Tkachenko, expressed this fear: "And if it (the Aral Sea—S.A.) dries up I will die next, without uttering a sound. We are a naturally obstinate people. We have held tight to the custom of making things green in one place, and do not crowd each other."

This is a simple, wonderful conduct that is typical of the Russians. In any case, the Aral environment is an environment that joined the fates of various peoples and that bleached the bones of the son of man in a spirit of international cooperation, love of independence, and common struggle. The epics of such masters of the art of words as Jiyan Jirov's "Forty Maidens," Ajiniyaz' "Bozatau," and Berdakh's "Genealogy," the works of Berdi Kerabayev, Mirtemir Uyghun, and Abdujamil Nurpeisov, and the novels of Tolapbergan Qayipberganov, form

a truly artistic panorama of the not-so-long-ago rare environment and, therefore, an omen of the fate of today's people. They fill the mind and cheer the hearts of people who read them. They increase a hundred-fold the faith in the survival of the Aral Sea on which the Amu and the Syr Rivers have bestowed life. True, the people's words are honest, just as was the poet Khamid Alimdzhan [who wrote] of Uzbekistan;

Beautiful as a young bride, Skin washed by two rivers, Snowy mountains above, Flower-covered valley below.

Carpet spreading to the four corners, There is nothing at all so lovely. People hold dear their happiness and fate in this wonderful country.

As enumerated in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA (the 26 November 1986 issue) neither imagination nor technology nor coffers of money will heal the Aral Sea. Only people who have truly acquired the quality of creative thinking in the new spirit of the 27th Congress of our party can save the entire sea. The time has come to discuss the misfortune. If we venture in our blood and our honor to be responsible to future generations, our sole source of satisfaction and courage is this: there is no other way than to save the Aral! Abundance lies in action, in stepping forth with an ability to work.

Pirmat Shermuhamedov, chairman of the Committee to Save the Aral of the Uzbek SSR Union of Writers: Let us move right to the truth. The Aral Sea situation is growing worse with every day and every second. The sea is gradually sinking. Thousands and thousands of hectares of land are becoming salinated and thrown into an ever more worthless condition. On days when the north wind blows, the salt which covers the sea's shores is being lifted into the sky and dumped on cities, villages, gardens, and cotton fields.

Research conducted with the aid of satellites confirms the fact that the salt and dust carried from the environs of the Aral Sea are falling on various rayons of Bukhara Oblast.

At this point I consider it necessary to bring up another problem. Some say that the Aral can be filled with water from Siberia. According to the calculations of specialists, the diversion of Siberian water to Central Asia would produce dire consequences.

"I have seriously studied this problem," says Sergey Zaligin. "In the first place, not one drop of the diverted Siberian water was to reach the Aral Sea. The plan was thus. Because even the small amount of northern water to be diverted would seriously disrupt the natural conditions of Central Asian lands which have formed over centuries. This is minor beside a marvelous discovery I unexpectedly made due to my interest in ecological problems. According to calculations I have made for many years, if the water that is being wasted in Central

Asia and Kazakhstan republics were saved it would amount to a volume of water larger than that to be diverted from Siberian rivers."

I do not wish to add anything to Sergey Zaligin's reflections. In truth, we complain about the water shortage, but we do absolutely nothing to conserve or ration it. We can achieve desired results only if we go forward in harmony with nature and understanding it.

Friedrich Engels, in his "The Dialectics of Nature," had in mind short-sighted people "who have triumphed over nature," when he wrote the following: "Each of these triumphs produces in the first place the results we envisioned, then produces, in the second and third places, completely unexpected different results that often negate the importance of the first."

Under the slogan "triumphing over nature" thousands and thousands of hectares of new lands have been reclaimed. Most of this opened up land now lies in a complete worthless state.

Black clouds are drifting over the Aral. The level of the Aral is dropping steadily. But the Aral, which is regarded as one of nature's wondrous miracles, is still alive. It awaits death at our hands.

Odil Yoqubov, People's Writer of the Uzbek SSR: When I think about the Aral, a child turned away from its mother's breasts comes before my eyes. Just as every child was nurtured by suckling at its mother's breast the Aral thrived with the water of the Amudarya and Syrdarya. We have permitted an error due to voluntaristic leadership for the past 30 years which today is condemned by our party. We have deprived a great sea of its "mother's breasts" by consuming unsparingly the water of these two precious rivers under the excuse of reclaiming steppes and opening more new lands than were needed. When it had the water of the Amudarya and Syrdarya at its disposal the Aral Sea did not withhold its love from us, mother nature, the earth, or mankind. Hundreds of villages along the shores of the sea had the Aral's riches at their disposal. The rarest fish and most amazing birds and animals in the world lived in the Aral.

We did not know its value at the time. We thought only of the benefits it brought today and squandered the water of the two rivers on every side. As a result of these heartless acts committed against nature, today we face a dire situation.

Everyone knows how severe the losses will be to mother nature, the earth we live on, and, in the end, to the Central Asian republics, if the Aral disappears as our scholars have predicted. I fully agree with the opinion of our scholars on this question.

Now, one thing gladdens me: today the Aral problem alarms not only the scholars and authors of Central Asian peoples, but also scholars and authors of the great

Russian and other fraternal peoples. Of course, we authors do not know by which means the Aral can be saved. But the statements being published in today's newspaper bear witness to the fact that if the public takes up this task seriously, the Aral certainly can be preserved for us, as well as for our descendants of the future.

From the editorial office: It appears from the preceding opinions that, as stated by our writers and scholars, the problem of saving the Aral is no less in breadth and significance than the problem of the Siberian rivers. That is why this urgent problem is alarming authors of our fraternal peoples. The problem of saving the Aral has turned from a regional problem into a vast problem on a Union scale.

We hope that these opinions of the broad public will not remain without results, that state and planning organs and ministries involved in water resources will indicate definite measures to save the Aral.

9439/9274

UkSSR River Fleet Administration Rapped for Poor Performance

18000014a Kiev *RABOCHAYA GAZETA* in Russian
7 Oct 87 p 1

[Article by V. Slizkoukh, under rubric "At the Permanent Commissions of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet": "Off to One Side of the Channel"]

[Text] "The overall conclusion is the same: the restructuring in the branch has been proceeding slowly. So I think that perhaps we ought to attempt right now to formulate the agenda more rigidly," M. A. Lushpa, deputy chairman of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet Commission for Transportation and Communication, proposed, summing up the results of the session. "Not 'Concerning the Introduction at Enterprises and Organizations of the Republic's Glavrechflot [Main Administration of the River Fleet] of New Management Methods in Accordance With the Requirements of the June 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee,' as has been recorded, but, for example, 'Concerning Serious Shortcomings...' In that way it will be closer to the truth."

In the final analysis the formulation of the agenda remained the same, but the deputies' opinion about the state of affairs in the branch did not change even a bit as a result of this. Glavrechflot chief N. A. Slavov was disappointed — his eloquent, long report, which was more similar to a popular lecture on restructuring in general, had not convinced anyone to change his mind — the analysis data, the facts were not to Nikolay Antonovich's benefit. The justifications that the branch was only preparing for the changeover to complete self-support and self-financing and therefore there was still time to correct the places where things failed to abut properly had not found anyone's support. What is needed today is not words, but deeds. Not promises, but

concrete results. Since the new year the collectives at enterprises and organizations in the main administration have been working under the new management conditions, but where is the return that was planned?

"I request that we definitely insert into the commission's decision a paragraph to the effect that Glavrechflot successfully fulfilled the plans for the first eight months, although the navigation season this year began a month later," N. A. Slavov insists.

But in this regard Nikolay Antonovich is needlessly concerned — no one is planning to place in doubt the highly productive labor performed by dozens of collectives. Their achievements are completely obvious. But, just as truly, one should not use them to cover oneself. No favorable gross figures can conceal the breaches that were formed in the fulfillment of the shipments plan for individual types of output, or for other indicators. Since the beginning of the year the river fleet workers have undershipped to the consumers 40,000 tons of petroleum, more than 130,000 tons of ore, and approximately 240,000 tons of coal. This shortage cannot be compensated for by increasing the shipments of sand, or gravel, or watermelons, although those freight shipments are also extremely necessary. The reassuring overall picture for Glavrechflot also will scarcely satisfy those who have been waiting for months for shipments of raw and other materials from the Kremenchug, Dneprodzerzhinsk, Nikolayev, and Kherson ports — the lagging behind in processing freight shipments there has already exceeded one million tons.

Naturally, the river fleet workers are often let down by the subcontractors who fail to meet the shipment deadlines — this cannot be discounted. But there is no way to reproach them if the fleet workers themselves are working according to the old methods, but only verbally fighting for acceleration and restructuring. What kind of acceleration can there be if every fifth ship spends more than the normative time in ports to be loaded or unloaded! Members of the commission's preparatory group computed that the total amount of losses for this reason only is equivalent to taking out of operation for the entire navigation season 11 "Zvenigorod"-type ships, each with a hauling capacity of 1,800 tons.

The following information is also very telling: during the current year, for Glavrechflot as a whole, there has been a drop in the average earnings per worker. But the losses of work time as a result of absenteeism and administrative leave have increased, as compared with the first half of last year, by almost 40 percent. This suggests the question: what kind of plan has been assigned to Glavrechflot if it can be fulfilled and overfulfilled even though there has been an increase in the idle-time periods and the unproductive losses of work time? Hasn't the plan been reduced too much?

"No, no, the plan is very strenuous," N. A. Slavov says, beating his chest. "It's just that we have large reserves."

This — pardon the expression — argumentation can scarcely satisfy anyone. The deputies are well aware of where these "large reserves" come from. For a long period of time, the obsolete and insufficiently strenuous individual-output norms were not reconsidered. For example, at the Zaporozhye port during the past three years not a single one of them was increased. It is not surprising that in the first half-year at half of the enterprises in the branch the norms were easily fulfilled by 140-170 percent. There is something else that evokes surprise: how, with "reserves" like this, do many collectives still manage to find themselves among the laggards?

And why has Glavrechflot been so calmly reconciled to this? We make so bold as to suggest: because it is profitable for Glavrechflot.

"For changeover to complete cost accounting we lack 40 million rubles," N. A. Slavov dropped cursorily in his report.

Well, in our opinion, one can discern here a main interrelationship — between the reduced plan and the shortage of funds. Without a doubt, money is needed for changeover to self-support. However, instead of trying in a real way to earn that money, instead of directing the collectives toward that goal, the leadership at the main administration has been attempting to get profits "without losing too much blood." It has been sailing down the old prerestructuring channel. For the time being, the leadership says, we will not introduce our reserves; it is better for us to ask for a plan that is a bit smaller. When we overfulfill it successfully, we will receive a profit and the backlog for the future is ready.

But it turned out that they have tricked themselves. The collectives, failing to see any real changes for the better in the administrative style and methods, "put on the brakes" in their work. As a result the entire main administration can prove to be in the shallow water, off to one side of the channel. In this situation, slogans and appeals, even the most correct ones, will not help the matter. It is necessary to roll up our sleeves and "grab at the oars." And the example must be provided by the workers in the main administration's apparatus.

For the time being, their participation in the changeover to the new management conditions has reflected chiefly on the increase in the flow of papers that are sent to the subordinate organizations and enterprises; as compared with the corresponding period last year, that flow has increased by 12 percent. Needless to say, this is an unusual reaction to the decision to give more independence to the low-level links, to rid them of excessive paperwork.

"We were 'dragged down' by the normative documentation that had to be sent to the outlying areas," the Glavrechflot leadership asserts.

The deputies, however, are of a completely different opinion.

"The managers of the enterprises and organizations have very muddled ideas about the changeover to the new salary rates. Such a question as the increase in labor productivity on the basis of the mechanization and automation of the production processes has fallen outside the main administration's field of vision," S. T. Pliskanovskiy, general director of the Yuzhmetallurgprom State Production Association, states.

"The brigade forms of the organization of labor have been developing weakly. The collectives operating under a system of cost accounting at the industrial enterprises of Glavrechflot employ a total of only 13.2 percent of the workers, which is a percentage that is two-fifths of the average for the republic's industry," V. V. Lutovinov, brigade leader at the Kiyevskiy Radiozavod Production Association, adds.

"In order to give more rights to the labor collectives, it is necessary to take them away from someone else. But the main administration is uneagerly proceeding along this path. The enterprise and ship collectives that work on international lines, as a rule, do not even know the total amounts of the currency income earned by them. Everything is redistributed at the discretion of the main administration. The essence of the new management conditions is not known even to many managers and engineer-technical workers, much less the ordinary workers," M. M. Kushnerenko, first secretary of the party's Kherson Obkom, says.

All these shortcomings in the organization of production have a detrimental effect upon the resolution of the questions concerning the social and everyday-living conditions for the collectives. Even in such large-scale subdivisions as the Kiev, Cherkassy, and Dneprodzerzhinsk ports, and at the Zaporozhye Shipbuilding and Ship-Repair Yard, there are not enough locker rooms, shower rooms, wash rooms, or women's-hygiene rooms. There are even more problems with housing. Almost every seventh family of river fleet workers is on a waiting list for housing. And yet the state funds allocated for these purposes remain largely unused, and the construction of housing by the inhouse method is being carried out only in two collectives. But the Glavrechflot leadership continues to ask for newer and newer appropriations from the government. Even though the time for handouts has already passed.

"A new path is always difficult. But it is twice as difficult for those who now are attempting to wait things out by standing on the side of the road, instead of working to overcome the obstacles. And that is the position that the Glavrechflot leadership has taken," N. G. Khomenko, secretary of the Presidium of the UkSSR Supreme Soviet, remarked. "Slightly more than a year remains until the changeover of the branch to self-support and self-financing, but not a single enterprise has introduced

complete cost accounting. Consequently, there is nowhere to verify in the practical situation the new methods of administering and organizing operations, or to build up the necessary experience. The people at the main administration also have not been hurrying to borrow what has been done by others. Therefore, even at the level of the branch administrators, the prevailing view is that it is by no means mandatory to reduce the number of workers. With this approach one can scarcely count on any successful restructuring. It is necessary decisively to begin with oneself, with one's own administrative apparatus. It is necessary to seek that which is one's own, to value the experience of one's neighbors, and to take more decisive steps to rid the branch of the ballast of old ideas and work methods. This opportunity already exists today, but tomorrow may be too late."

It would seem that nothing could be added to those words.

5075

Saratov Obkom Chief on Need to Improve Goods, Social Services

*18000006a Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA
in Russian 15 Sep 87 p 2*

[Article by A. Khomyakov, first secretary of the Saratov CPSU Obkom: "Let People Talk; The Social Sphere in the Center of Party Attention"]

[Text] Recently I dropped in, as usual, at the city market and examined the shelves carefully. As compared with the recent past, the choice had become obviously richer, but as I left I was, putting it honestly, grieved. The prices were so high!

I will not be revealing any secret if I say that the market prices are to a large extent a barometer according to which people judge the state of affairs in agriculture, and, if you will, the effectiveness of our party influence upon it. On the whole, the nutritional menu of the Saratovites has been rather well guaranteed currently — the stores offer dozens of types of produce that has just been brought in from the kolkhoz and sovkhoz vegetable beds. But all one has to do is to take a more attentive look and one will see that the quantities of many vegetables, fruits, and berries on the shelves are insufficient, and moreover their commercial appearance is far from the best. This is the result of the market seller's diktat.

The customers call that diktat an abomination. So the managers in the trade system, the oblast union of consumer cooperatives, and the suburban farms attempt every time to find "weighty" reasons, promising, as usual, to take decisive steps "within the near future" to correct the situation. But what does "the near future mean"?

Of course, the program that is being carried out today to achieve the technical re-equipping of the branches that are most important for a person's life requires not only considerable capital expenditures, but also time. Time, but not sluggishness, which is something that the restructuring will not forgive. People will not forgive it. We can and must, right now, today, strive for visible changes in trade, in medical services, in organizing the operation of transportation, that is, in the spheres that directly influence a person's life and well-being.

The difficulties here, of course, are considerable. Many financial and organizational obstacles have not been removed, for example, from the path of innovators' undertakings. On the other hand, in the awareness of administrators at various levels, it is difficult to establish what is in general a simple idea — the idea that a person's mood, his psychological and, if we may express it this way, material well-being are concern number one.

Not too long ago, for example, the managers in our Khvalynskiy Rayon gave a report on their work. They reported in detail on how things were going with the fulfillment of the plans, and what reserves had been put into action. But when the topic of discussion came around to improving the personal services in rural areas, it turned out that, for example, every fifth animal-husbandry farm lacked personal amenities — the workers had nowhere to change their clothing, to wash up, to get cleaned up... Are we really to believe that, with this attitude toward people, we can expect further movement ahead?

As I participated in the work of the June Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, I kept measuring what I had heard against the situations in our oblast. And I became increasingly convinced that today's renovation is, in the final analysis, a sharp turning toward people, to their immediate interests and needs. I am forced to admit that the overall level of our work in this area does not yet conform to the requirements of the day — either with regard to rates or with regard to quality.

We began the restructuring of the work of the oblast party organization by directing the most careful attention precisely to the social sphere. Informal, systematic meetings that the party and economic aktiv had with people right at their work station, at the animal farm, in the field, and at construction sites, reinforced the resolve to change over from appeals to concrete and immediate actions: if people are going to call work their second home, then let's make their work station truly such. And the people themselves will help.

Today that has developed into the following initiative: by the 70th anniversary of October, every enterprise will create the necessary personal conveniences — well-equipped changing rooms and shower rooms, and will

open, wherever needed, dining halls, delicatessens and branches of them, acceptance desks for a variety of personal services, medical aid stations, etc. And this will also be done in rural areas.

Today there is no need to convince anyone that wherever production conditions are well organized and there is a manifestation of true concern for the man of labor, managers do not have to deal with the notorious personnel turnover — instead, stable able-bodied collectives are formed. Six or seven years ago, for example, at all conferences and aktiv meetings, deep obeisances of all kinds used to be made to the Balakovo Chemical Plant — it was one of the plants in the branch that were lagging the most. The plans for production of fertilizers were not being fulfilled, the working conditions were difficult, and the territories in the shops were strongly contaminated by gas. In a word, the workers would not stay here. The director assigned an experienced economic manager, and previously party worker, L. Butovskiy, who began to correct the situation not only with the remodeling of the production, but also the radical improvement of the personal-living conditions. Good dining halls, modern changing rooms, and shower rooms were built. In order to assure that the tables in the dining halls would not be empty, the plant began operating its own subsidiary farm: a cow barn for 350 head was built, as well as a hog barn for 1500 head, and a hothouse was installed. Fish were raised in a pond.

And this was the result: the personnel turnover rate at the plant has decreased sharply, and there has been an increase by a factor of 3.5 in the volume of output. The plant has assimilated the production of three new types of mineral fertilizers which had not been stipulated by the plant design, but which the rural areas have been waiting for. And there are similar plans for the future.

Of course, we also still have managers who advance what is, in their opinion, an "incontrovertible" counterargument: why, they ask, should we build mansions at the animal farms? — people are not coming here to relax, but to work. Managers like that will never understand, for example, A. Silnov, chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni Kalinin, Baltayskiy Rayon. In what would be, by their standards, the "unpromising" village of Alferyevka, at the Home of the Animal Husbandryman, he even organized a kindergarten group. Quite recently that village was rapidly becoming empty, and people were preparing to share the fate of two neighboring ones, Novoseltsevo and Vladimirovka, which are remembered today only by the dilapidated ruins of the buildings. Certain hotheads had repeatedly raised before the kolkhoz board of governors the question of transferring the hog farm that was there to a central homestead — it wouldn't make any difference, they said, because there was no one to work there anyway — the young people were leaving the rural areas. But the chairman and the party committee interceded for the village. The construction of housing was begun there, a medical aid station and a store were built, and a gas line is being laid...

Are these superfluous expenditures? Ones that will not pay for themselves? It would not seem so. The village came to life and today there is no personnel problem there. Young people came to the animal farm to work — so Alferyevka is alive and well!

Currently there are more than 400 animal-husbandryman homes in the oblast. By the October celebration absolutely all the farms will have them, just as they have mechanizer homes. This is taking quite some effort to achieve. The economic manager's conservatism, distrust, and, at times, indifference are uneagerly yielding their positions.

But there are also other obstacles. They include our own insufficient persistence and, as I have already said, the administrative and financial obstacles that fetter initiative in the outlying areas. Take, for example, one of the leaders in our industry — the electrical-assembly production association. It was authorized to deduct and to pay into the social and cultural fund and the housing-construction fund 3.1 percent of the funds received as a result of every percentage of increase in labor productivity. But this norm obviously does not guarantee dynamism in developing the social sphere. According to computations made by specialists, for each such percentage the association should deduct no less than 12 percent of the funds. And there is something else. After changing over to the new management system, the enterprise has been deducting and paying into the budget approximately 73 percent of the profit, leaving for itself only 27 percent. This ratio does not provide the opportunity for the advantages of cost accounting and self-financing to manifest themselves completely and does not provide the opportunity to increase the construction of housing, areas for people's personal needs, etc. Where is the way out of the situation? In the work experience of the Sumy Machine-Building NPO [scientific-production association], 75 percent goes to self-financing, and 25 to the budget. That is, it is necessary to carry out a fundamental re-examination of the norms for fund formation.

There is yet another paradox: our very large enterprise — the bearing plant — previously built housing annually with a value of 1.5-2 million rubles. Now, under the new conditions, it has hanging over it, strange as it seems, the threat that the housing construction will come to an end — the fund for social needs is too small. The share of the profit that goes to meet social needs is being reduced from 35.9 to 29.5 percent. That is, factually speaking, there are enough funds only to maintain the already existing housing, children's institutions, recuperation centers... But what about development?

Another bottleneck is the production of consumer goods at Group A enterprises. In order to put an end to the lack of interest on the part of production managers in producing such commodities, it is necessary, in my opinion, to leave for the enterprises the bulk of the profit from their production, in order to encourage initiative. In addition, it is high time for USSR Gosplan, jointly with

the branch ministries, to develop for these enterprises well-substantiated and stable norms for the production of these commodities and to put them in the category of the most important ones.

But now let us return, so to speak, to the agricultural sphere. The Saratov kolkhozes and sovkhozes during the past year and the current one have obviously taken a definite step forward, by guaranteeing approximately a 10-percent increase in meat, milk, eggs... Unfortunately, we feel that this is a kind of maximum. It will scarcely be possible within the immediate future to exceed it. I think that we should seek other sources.

What sources? In addition to the development of the family contract and cost-accounting relations in rural areas, an important role, in our opinion, can be played by the development of subsidiary farms at enterprises in their cooperative actions with kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Obviously, this method requires serious analysis and experimentation.

In and of themselves, subsidiary farms at plants or associations are no innovation. There is a rather large number of them throughout the country, but, unfortunately, the gross volume of their output, and their production costs, frequently are unsatisfactory. The agricultural shops — as we shall call them — for many reasons are becoming a heavy burden for the workers and employees. On the other hand, we have dozens of unprofitable kolkhozes and sovkhozes which are making poor use of the land and technology and which have lost any clear-cut orientation markers in the sponsorship ties between city and the countryside.

The first thing that seems to us to be possible right now is the transfer of the unprofitable farms to major industrial enterprise, to be completely subordinate and responsible to the administrators of those enterprises. The plants that are average in capacity and capabilities could lease land to the kolkhozes and sovkhozes on a contractual basis — that is the second method. What land? Preferably that which is not being occupied or which is being used poorly. The contract would stipulate mutually advantageous terms: such and such an amount of the final output will go to the enterprise, and such and such an amount will stay at the farm.

Man does not live by work alone. That is why the problem of developing the social sphere in the production area is being resolved by the party committees in close relationship to the organizing of reasonable relaxation conditions for the workers. This, it would seem, will help to eradicate as rapidly as possible such phenomena as drunkenness, hooliganism, and narcotics addiction. On the basis of a study of public opinion, and by restructuring the mass political work at the place of residence, we are seeking new forms of that work, new ways to reinforce the material base of the recreational and services sphere.

The people in the Volga area have really taken a liking to the cultural, trade, and personal-services centers being created in populated places. In such public places a person can spend his time well, can relax, can buy an article he needs, and obtain a personal service. We were convinced of how important this is by the experience that Saratov has had with such a center on Prospekt Kirova. Three movie theaters, a stadium, and about 40 enterprises engaged in retail trade, public nutrition, and personal services have been united into a single whole. A permanent fair and 30 summertime and wintertime soft-drink cafes with seating for 1500 people are equipped with television sets and tape recorders and with video arcades. All this has converted the public center not simply into a favorite place for the citydwellers, but also into a school where good taste and good manners are imbued in people, and even, if you will, people's intellect is developed. In front of a fountain with musical and lighting effects, professional performers and amateur groups perform and theatricalized celebrations are held.

More than 60 special-interest nonprofessional associations operate in the oblast on the basis of the soft-drink cafes. The associations are visited by people of various ages and occupations. I feel that there ought to be much more of them, and there will be!

Of course, one Prospekt Kirova in the oblast center and one Animal-Husbandryman's Home or Mechanizer's Home will not resolve the problems for the entire rayon, because this is not being done for the purposes of show. The public centers are needed in every housing area in the city, at the enterprise, in the rayon center, in every village. On the animal farm also, and in the brigade, the role of this kind of center where people can communicate with one another will be assumed by the animal-husbandryman's and mechanizer's homes. Propaganda and agitation specialists, and cultural organizers, must also work there. And they must work there not for the sake of getting a "check mark," but with a real purpose, with a consideration of people's interests and wants. When we got back home, we came to an agreement: wherever the pledges are not being fulfilled and modern conditions for production life are not being created, the labor collective has the right to raise the question of trust in the administrator — should that person be allowed to continue, or should we elect a new person who is capable of taking into consideration and satisfying people's needs? Under the restructuring conditions, that is how it should be. As we become increasingly accustomed to living in an atmosphere of democracy and openness, we require the maximum amount of human simplicity in communicating with one another, and concern not about oneself and one's own personal prestige, but about people, the conveniences provided to them, and their welfare. And people will definitely appreciate this.

05075

Vegetable Shortages in Alma-Ata Continue
18320403e Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN in Kazakh 1 Aug 87 p 3

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN in Kazakh on 1 August 1987 carries on page 3 a 1,400-word article by A. Duysenbekov and N. Muftakhov, SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN reporters, published under the rubric "We Sound the Alarm, Urgent Measures Needed," entitled "The Summer Season Is Passing, When Will Vegetables Become More Plentiful?" The article notes a chronic shortage of vegetables in Alma-Ata, which has not improved, official promises to the contrary, and is, if anything, worse than ever this year, the authors note, since the shortage is uniform and it is no longer possible to make up for what is unavailable in one store by shopping in another. Duysenbekov and Muftakhov are highly critical of local authorities, and of the republic agroindustry, for failure to respond to the problem, in spite of several warnings in the KaSSR press to date. They suggest, moreover, that recent reorganizations to "help consumers" may be one reason why the problem is worse this year than previously. The authors also condemn "violations of socialist rules" whereby higher prices are being paid for produce in some cases to stimulate improved deliveries to the state. They suggest that too high a percentage of supply is being bled off in the producing units themselves and at local bazaars./12913

Serious Air Pollution Noted in Baku

18310407 [Editorial Report] Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri on 6 August 1987 carries on page 3 a 2,600-word article by M. Abbasov, A. Alasgarov, and R. Rafizade under the rubric "Man and the Environment" on the problems of air pollution caused by industrial and automotive fumes. "In a number of rayons and industrial centers of the republic ecological conditions remain poor. Up until the present, impure and harmful substances are thrown into air and water masses to a significant extent. No progressive measures are being taken by institutions to prevent the pollution of the environment, and not enough attention is being given to questions of the creation and application of waste-free technologies, the all-round use of raw materials and to industrial waste." They add that "there are hundreds of industrial institutions which pollute the atmosphere through the poor application of anti-pollution equipment."

/06662

Disaster-Prone Svanetia 'In No Danger of Depopulation'

18130404a [Editorial Report] Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 11 July 1987 carries on page 2 under the title "Life Is Returning to Normal" Mamuka Kherkheulidze's 1,100-word letter to the editors, in which he examines many people's fears that the

evacuation of some 1,200 families from highland Svanetia in the wake of last winter's and spring's weather disasters portends eventual depopulation of that district. These fears are based in part on what has happened in other highland districts, where the younger generations have migrated to the valleys and left just a few old people to carry on in once flourishing villages that have become virtual ghost towns.

Svanetia has indeed always suffered from recurring avalanches—and this past season was one of the worst ever. Nevertheless, the hardy Svans have always resurged in legendary fashion. The author likens their situation to that of the Kakhetians [of eastern Georgia] who always refused to abandon their devastated ancestral lands despite savage annual invasions that ravaged their population in centuries past. In an aside, he mentions that some of the aid promised to the Svans last winter and spring—in particular, helicopter transport—was realized in less than satisfactory fashion. And he lists about a dozen Svanetian villages that have, in fact, become entirely empty.

The author is firmly convinced that the Svans, especially their young people, will mostly stay, and he quotes several to that effect. One village ispolkom chairman was very optimistic as a result of his personal consultation with Patiashvili in Tbilisi, who promised specific aid. Now that summer has come back, many Svan families have returned also. There is plenty of rebuilding to do.

In one passage the author proposes the development of large, world-class winter resorts in Svanetia, also engineering projects (terracing and the like) to reduce the danger of avalanches.

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Georgian River Diversion Schemes Scrapped

18130404b [Editorial Report] Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO in Georgian No 29, 17 July 1987 carries on page 6 Ia Darbaiseli's 900-word article titled "The Rivers Will Go Their Old Way," concerning "the present Georgian leadership's difficult but correct decision" finally to remove "from the century's agenda" the issue of projects to divert "surplus" water from western Georgian rivers to more arid regions of eastern Georgia and Azerbaijan. With reference to last year's joint CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of ministers decree halting all preliminary work on the well known Siberian river diversion schemes, the author then sketches the decades-long history of much less well known but quite similar schemes in Georgia, noting the various institutions involved and the talented engineers who authored the projects.

The motives behind all these schemes were "noble" enough: to enhance the rich agricultural potential of the climatically favored but arid eastern Transcaucasus, and to distribute hydropower resources more equitably

(Georgia, more exactly western Georgia, is the only Transcaucasian republic with a water "surplus"). What they ran up against, in the end, were two critical problems: the excessive cost in energy needed to pump the water over the mountain ranges—equal in amount (15 billion kwh) to all that Georgia generates in a year; and imperfectly understood but potentially disastrous ecological consequences.

Of the ecological considerations the author focuses on just one, namely the danger that the 200-meter-deep "life layer" in the Black Sea could diminish and its underlying hydrogen-sulfide-containing layer increase as a consequence—a highly undesirable result of "starving" the Black Sea of large amounts of river water.

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Caucasus RR Project: Georgian Fears of Immigration Allayed

18130404c [Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 18 July 1987 carries on page 3 under the title "Is the Caucasus Mountain Railroad Necessary?" popular writer Chabua Amiredzhibi's 4,200-word article examining in detail a number of arguments that have been advanced against that project and laying to rest many Georgians' apprehensions. With a few personal reservations on particular aspects (for example, the reliability of future water treatment installations along the route), the author adduces solid counter-arguments dispelling widespread worries about the project's ecological impact, cost to agricultural lands, damage to historic monuments and archeological sites, and the like.

On the plus side, he points out the enormous economic, social, and cultural benefits the future railroad will bring to Georgia as a whole and to presently depressed districts through which it will run. He points out that the construction itself will bring in a lot of state funds and provide thousands of jobs for Georgians and excellent training for locals, and he emphasizes that when completed the railroad will remain the property of Georgia. It will spark repopulation of the now dying highlands and give rise to new and revived towns with all the amenities, roads and communications, and so on. Moreover, it will restore Georgia to her ancient vital place as a major crossroads of world trade, a role which declined with the rise of the sea trade and whose revival prospects were dealt another blow when the proposed Tehran-Batumi railroad project of recent years was scuttled by the Islamic Revolution. To let the present opportunity slip away would be "a grave national error."

Midway in the piece, the author devotes several hundred words to many Georgians' fears that the project will bring an influx of outsiders into the republic. This hitherto virtually "taboo" subject is, in fact, the real worry behind many of the specious objections raised by the railroad's opponents, and Amiredzhibi intends to

stop "whispering" about it. According to the 1979 census, Georgians make up around 69 percent of the republic's population, and the percentage of non-Georgians has been declining steadily despite the manpower demands of such huge projects as the Inguri GES, the Zhinvali complex, and the Marabda-Akhalkalaki railroad—all of which are much vaster than the Caucasus Railroad and whose manpower needs were met almost entirely with local resources. Yet the projects's opponents talk as if large numbers of outsiders were "camped in tents outside the portal to the future tunnel, just waiting until the trumpet sounds to pour in." The author points out that if that were their desire, they could use existing roads across the Caucasus into Georgia. In fact, the anticipated repopulation of the district will mainly comprise representatives of "the Georgian ethnoses," returning emigrants from the area (or their children) who still have ties there and own land. Amiredzhibi also reminds Georgians that they have always had "an open culture" and have not feared "cultural expansion" but have welcomed "spiritual values from outside." A strong culture like that of the Georgians freely accepts, adapts, or appropriately rejects such things, and makes its own contribution to the world.

On 23 July, KOMUNISTI carries on page 3 a 300-word editorial piece, with the same title as the article above, commenting on the public's response to Amiredzhibi's essay as reflected in readers' letters. A large percentage of the respondents favor the railroad project and believe it will enhance the economy, improve the demographic situation, stem migration, serve to retain young people, stimulate the birth rate, bring in roads and communications, spark the development of important resorts, and provide jobs. The editors acknowledge, however, that some readers still voice strong opposition to the project. KOMUNISTI will continue to publish more of this material.

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Construction of New Svan Settlement Lags Badly

18130404d [Editorial Report] Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 30 July 1987 carries on page 2 KOMUNISTI correspondent D. Bitsadze's 1,700-word article "Gruzagrostroy Cannot Build Villages That Way," which deals in detail with the problems afflicting the construction of an important settlement in Dzhandara (Gardabani Rayon) for 350 Svan families totalling 1,200 persons displaced by last winter's weather disasters in highland Mestia Rayon. The chosen site, enthusiastically approved by the Svans, is "on ancient Georgian land" where just about any crops can grow and livestock farming holds great promise.

Unfortunately, with a few bright exceptions, Gruzagrostroy's own trusts and most of its subcontracting construction outfits are far behind schedule and hardly seem to care; a great many of the lagging organizations and their top officials are singled out by name. Building

materials are in short supply, likewise building equipment, and there is not enough manpower. Moreover, the work is "chaotically" organized, and progressive methods and even such concepts as cost accounting and collective contract are virtually unknown. The author of the article characterizes the situation more than once as "shameful" and "disgraceful."

Besides housing and public buildings, the rest of the new community's infrastructure shows no better prospects. A water system project that has been underway for some time does not even include plans for a water tank [rezervuar]. Powerline projects are in disarray and the electricity supply is quite erratic. The Dzhandara Georgian school, which could not accommodate the population's needs even before the new influx, needs to be replaced, but the project remains "on paper."

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Caucasus Railroad Will Improve Georgia's Demography

18130404e [Editorial Report] Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 30 July 1987 devotes most of page 2 to Economics Candidate Anzor Totadze's 4,400-word article, titled "Population and the Railroad," presenting a detailed examination of Georgians' comparatively poor demographic position (relative to their Azeri and Armenian neighbors both inside and outside the republic) and arguing that, along with its many other benefits, the Caucasus Mountain can only improve the situation.

The first half of the piece sketches the dynamics of Georgia's demographic structure since the establishment of Soviet rule, including early figures on child mortality, the steady transition from extensive to intensive population growth, the impact of changing sex and age structures, higher death rates among males, the surplus of females over males, steady migration from the highlands, declining birth and natural increase rates, vastly higher divorce rates, and so on. Where applicable, figures reflecting recent and current trends among Georgians are cited and compared with those of the Azeris and Armenians, and in most categories the Georgians come off worst. In 1979, for example, the birth rate among Georgia's Azeris stood at 27.9 versus 17.5 among Georgians, and the Azeris' natural increase rate of 22.2 was 2.5 times that of the Georgians.

The author also points out that since the 1920's the Azeris and Armenians outside Georgia have overtaken and surpassed Georgians in terms of absolute population totals as well. He states that a large part of the problem is Georgia's internal migration—particularly from the highlands—and failure to make the best use of labor resources.

The next segment looks at the depressed economic and social picture of Pshav-Khevsureti (Dusheti Rayon) through which the proposed railroad is to run, and compares it with the alarming decline of the old Racha Province (Oni and Ambrolauri Rayons). Both highland districts suffer from lack of roads and communications—even of electricity over large areas—and are losing population so fast that they “resemble something worse than deserts, including ghost towns.”

The Caucasus Railroad can turn this situation around—witness what happened to the area around the Zhinvali Hydrocomplex (in southern Dusheti Rayon), which boosted the district's economy and culture. The railroad project calls for the establishment or revival of a number of towns and communities with all the necessary infrastructure and amenities (some dozen place names are listed). during the “intensive period” of the construction project it will need 6000 workers, consisting of approximately 80 percent Georgians and 20 percent Georgia residents. Half of them are to come from Dusheti Rayon, and will include emigrated families returning to their

ancestral hearths. The project will provide employment for the area's 2600 persons who are not now working in the social sector, including many young people. There are tentative plans to allow numbers of Tbilisians to take over abandoned homes in Dusheti Rayon and work land plots there. The author also suggests that a committee be set up to promote the settlement of the Aragvi Valley, in the same way that settlement of the Colchidian Lowland was promoted in the early stages of that region's development.

When the railroad is completed it will require a permanent operational work force of 3000. It is also anticipated that a work force of over 1500 will be required to run future resorts in the district.

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END